

FIGHT RACISM!

FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

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Thatcher's thieves fall out

In the third week of January, Mrs Thatcher's government faced its third crisis in as many weeks over a small helicopter factory in Somerset and who should own it. The crisis revealed not only the major split in the ruling class between finance capital and industrial capital, but also released the rank stench of dirty dealing, corruption and backstabbing amongst Ministers of the Crown. Fortunately two of Mrs Thatcher's most objectionable ministers were disposed of in the process. Large sections of the British population are gleeful that these sanctimonious backers of Victorian values, law and order, and the politics of the 'iron will' have been exposed as seedy liars and frauds with bad tempers. At last the monolith of Thatcherism is crumbling, starting with its rotten centre.

At first the crisis appeared to be over the issue of whether the near-bankrupt Westland helicopter factory should be owned by a European or a US consortium. But what one Cabinet Minister described as 'a piddling affair' rapidly became a battle to the death within the Tory cabinet. By the time you and I woke up to the Westland crisis it had already been bubbling underground for several weeks. The chronology of events is as follows:

September Sikorsky—the American consortium—makes a bid for Westland. The Westland Board of Directors like it. **October** Leon (the 'demented poodle') Brittan, Minister of Trade and Industry since September, makes it clear that he wants a European bid to be put together. Heseltine agrees.

December Mrs Thatcher attempts to rule out the European bid to leave the way clear for Sikorsky. A meeting of the Cabinet is fixed for 13 December to discuss the affair. Mrs Thatcher cancels the meeting on the day before it is due to take place.

☆ The Cabinet meets and Heseltine complains that the refusal to discuss the European bid will leave the way clear for Sikorsky. The minutes of the meeting do not record that Westland was discussed or that Heseltine complained.

☆ Thatcher and Brittan (now back in



'seedy liars and frauds with bad tempers'

left: Leon 'demented poodle' Brittan, right: Heseltine, cleaning up his image, and the 'overbearing' Thatcher

line supporting Sikorsky) proclaim publicly throughout that 'the shareholders must decide' (behind the scenes they are merely liquidating the opposition).

☆ Westland directors now publicly back the Sikorsky/Fiat offer, declare that the 'shareholders must decide'. In the process of helping the 'shareholders to decide', Sir John Cuckney, Westland chairman, writes to Thatcher asking for her view on whether the Europeans will turn nasty if Sikorsky/Fiat wins. Mrs

Thatcher obligingly gets the Department of Trade and Industry (Brittan) to reply saying that the Europeans won't mind a bit.

January Mr Heseltine feels snubbed that he was not asked to reply to Cuckney's letter, and writes his own letter with a copy to Cuckney, saying that the Europeans will definitely get nasty.

☆ The Attorney General, Sir Patrick Mayhew feels snubbed (Mrs Thatcher tells him he was snubbed) that he wasn't shown Heseltine's letter before it was sent. He writes to Heseltine, claiming

that Heseltine is lying. Within 2 hours of the letter being sent, Mr Brittan leaks the Attorney General's letter to the Press Association. This is just in time for Sir John Cuckney's press conference directed at Westland shareholders calling for support for the American bid. Heseltine, on the other hand, sticks to his guns.

☆ Mrs Thatcher puts the screws on Heseltine in the Cabinet where he is told to shut up—this is called collective res-



ANDREW WIARD/REPORT



ponsibility. On 9 January Heseltine resigns as Minister of Defence (he is the first to walk out of a Cabinet meeting for 99 years). He immediately becomes the champion of European collaboration. Heseltine decides to lay the Cabinet to waste and in his press statement attacks Thatcher's 'overbearing style of leadership and improper conduct.'

☆ Mr Brittan and Mrs Thatcher deny putting the screws on GEC and British Aerospace—leading partners in the European Consortium—to get them to withdraw their bid on the grounds of national interest. Mr Brittan denies to the House of Commons that he has seen any letter from British Aerospace complaining about this. Next day he admits to the House of Commons that he had seen the letter but didn't like to say so.

☆ Meanwhile the Sikorsky/Fiat bid fails to get 75% of the votes at the shareholders' meeting. Nobody cares much any more—or at least they pretend not to. Except Mr Heseltine who feels vindicated.

☆ Mr Brittan and Mrs Thatcher express their deepest disgust that the Attorney General's letter was leaked to the Press Association. The Cabinet institutes an inquiry. Who could do such a thing? Inquiry reveals that Mr Brittan did such a thing with the backing of the

Broadwater Farm Estate

More police lies

The Metropolitan Police have continued their efforts to criminalise the people of Broadwater Farm—with the willing assistance of the media. On Sunday 12 January the Mail on Sunday published leaked details from Tottenham police's report on the Broadwater Farm rising. The leak must have come from the police. Before you could say 'manipulation' the report was being splashed across every newspaper front page and minutely examined in every radio and TV news programme. This 'examination' however was never close enough to discover that the report was, and is, a particularly crude police fraud. It is a compilation of rumour, lies, unconnected incidents and assertions aimed at portraying the Broadwater Farm estate as 'criminal'.

'Riot plan', 'Lakes of petrol', 'Basement garages flooded with petrol' ran the headlines as Fleet Street went on the rampage against black people. The police report claimed that the rising on 6 October 1985 had been planned months in advance although they admit that 'the unfortunate death' (report para 7.1) of Mrs Jarrett was 'the immediate trigger

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'Prime Minister's office'. Mrs Thatcher says that had she been asked personally, she would have insisted that Mr Heseltine be stabbed, not in the back, but in the front.

☆ Mr Brittan offers his resignation on the grounds that no-one trusts him anymore. Mrs Thatcher tries to dissuade him on the grounds that no-one trusts her either. Mr Brittan is determined and resigns.

Mrs Thatcher, at the last minute rallied the Tories to her side with another dubious version of events. But from now on she will have to watch her back. Two of this snivelling band have emerged from the battle intact. Mr Heseltine—who brought cruise missiles to Britain, prosecuted and gaoled Sarah Tisdall, prosecuted Clive Ponting, set up his own department to spread lies about CND (paid for by the taxpayer)—is now set up to champion the old Tory values and as the glamour boy of Europe. He has certainly, by his resignation, avoided future troubles at the Ministry of Defence, which after years of overspending faces two years of unpopular cut-backs. And of course, there's the real Crown Prince, Norman Tebbit, who cleverly retired to hospital at the beginning of January before the knives came out. Both will be lining themselves up in the coming year to dispose of the real obstacle to their succession, Mrs Thatcher.

It is at times of severe crisis that the ruling class begin to battle it out amongst themselves for a share of the power and the profits. Westland is the or battle in a war.

Carol Brickley

Anglo-Irish deal

Election stalemate

Predictably the Unionists have secured a massive vote in the bye-elections which they were using as a referendum on the Anglo-Irish Agreement. But in an upset for their claim that the loyalist population would rise to the occasion, the Unionists lost one of their 15 seats to the SDLP's Seamus Mallon. The SDLP secured an increased vote whilst Sinn Fein's share of the poll fell and overall there was a swing of 6% to the SDLP from Sinn Fein, a result which shows how hard both the British and Twenty Six Counties governments have been working to bolster constitutional nationalism.

Both before and after the result was announced the British government had made clear its determination to continue with the Agreement. Loyalist opposition has already led to one serious confrontation with the RUC (at the end of their march from Derry to Belfast). It remains to be seen how far they are prepared to go now that the 'constitutional' form of their opposition has met a brick wall.

However, the loyalist position looks increasingly isolated and their talk of a 'sell-out' ever more absurd as Britain and the Twenty Six Counties government forge ahead with their real purpose—the attempted isolation and defeat of the Republican movement. The Agreement never was intended to alter the status of the Six Counties and indeed the whole aim of the exercise is the strengthening of British imperialist

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rule in Ireland and therefore the maintenance of the Six County statelet in which loyalist supremacy is guaranteed.

Although the Agreement contains token promises of ending discrimination and implementing various reforms (and the SDLP made much of them) these were the cosmetic disguise for greater anti-Republican collaboration between the British and Twenty Six Counties governments. It is therefore

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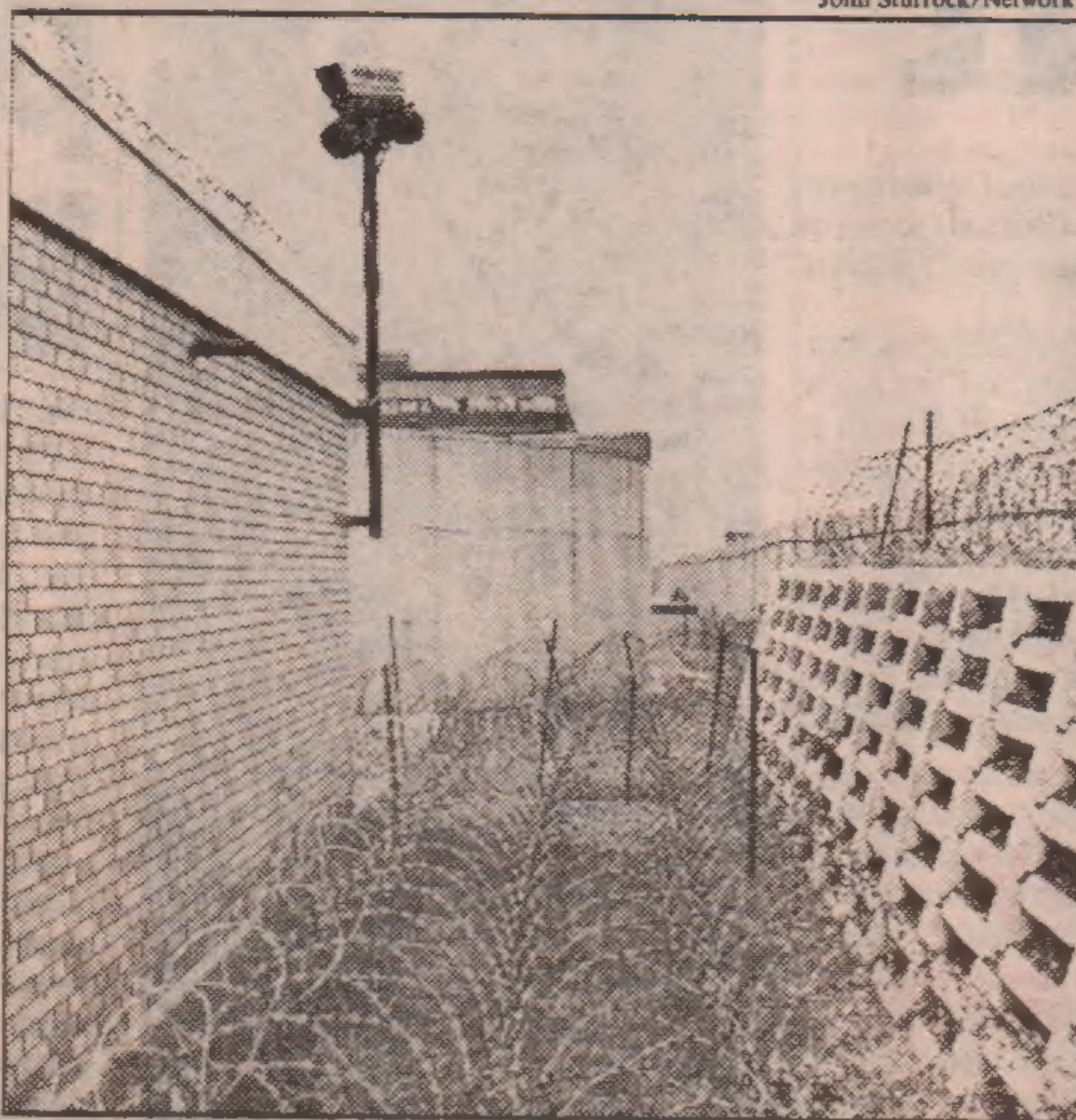
EETPU pulls plug on Fleet Street unions

By Saturday 25 January NGA and SOGAT 82 at Rupert Murdoch's News International's four national titles – the *Times*, *Sunday Times*, *Sun* and *News of the World* – were on strike; some journalists had agreed to scab on the printworkers by working at Murdoch's heavily-fortified Wapping site; the reactionary EETPU had agreed to print newspapers for Murdoch; News International had announced the sacking of 6,000 printworkers.

Rupert Murdoch acquired his Wapping site in 1979 and has spent an estimated £100 million on it. The Wapping site is now a fortress specially designed to withstand mass picketing. It has high security walls, TV surveillance cameras, private security guards, and is ringed with razor-wire. Even the traffic lights at the entrance to the site have been synchronised so that scab drivers can accelerate straight through any pickets. A secret deal has been struck with TNT distributors to ensure distribution of scab papers. Murdoch and TNT are co-owners of an Australian distribution company called Australian Ansett. Murdoch is demanding legally binding contracts that would: outlaw strike action; forbid election of any trade union representative who had been disciplined for anything; enforce acceptance of any management changes in working conditions, place of employment etc; give the management the right to dismiss any worker in breach of any of the agreement's clauses. Such an agreement, combined with the deskilled and lower staffing levels required by new technology, would mean the final destruction of the print unions. Murdoch, sure of the whole-hearted support of the government, law and police, is confident of victory.

The major weapon in Murdoch's armoury, however, is not money, the law or state force: it is the EETPU. The EETPU has recruited scab labour for Murdoch. These scabs, with the blessing of the EETPU, are being bussed in daily from Southampton. The EETPU is poised to sign single-union legally-binding no strike agreements not only with Murdoch but also with Eddie Shah's planned new national daily *Today*. EETPU members in Wapping – secretly recruited, secretly trained – are printing Murdoch's scab titles. On 22 January the NGA, SOGAT 82

and NUJ jointly demanded TUC action against the EETPU for its recruiting of scab labour for Murdoch and its persistent lying about its



John Sturrock/Network

role. At the time of writing, the TUC had not decided what to do. As the *Observer* commented: 'The EETPU is emerging as the main instrument with which print union resistance to new technologies will be broken.' Tom Rice, national newspaper organiser for the EETPU, gloated 'We're the beneficiaries' (5 January 1986).

The EETPU has also publicly allied itself with the scab UDM. The UDM and EETPU held an 'energy conference' with the NCB and CEEB on 10 January this year at the EETPU's plush conference centre in Kent. With the AUEW, the EETPU

led the successful right-wing assault on TUC policy opposing the acceptance of government money for ballots. The open reaction of EETPU shows how far the split in the trade union movement has gone in the wake of the miners' strike.

Against this reactionary alliance stands a trade union leadership which is as afraid of winning as it is of losing. In the Warrington dispute between the NGA and Eddie Shah in December 1983, the NGA backed away from breaking the law. As a result of that defeat printworkers have been forced onto the defensive throughout the newspaper industry.



Above Eric Hammond of the EETPU, the union which is scabbing on the print workers.

Fortress Wapping

In a series of less-publicised disputes the NGA, SOGAT 82 and the NUJ have engaged in bitter inter-union fights and made concession after concession to the employers. This has left a trail of redundancies, flexible-working and no-disruption agreements. The NGA, SOGAT 82, NUJ and the TUC have positively grovelled to avoid a dispute with News International. They offered an agreement which effectively meant no strikes and a compliant workforce but was not legally binding. Murdoch refused, forcing the unions to take action. Even so NUJ members have joined the EETPU in strike-breaking.

Rupert Murdoch has copied the tactics used by the NCB against the miners: the creation of a scab labour force; careful preparation for a long fight; and deliberate provocation of a strike. Such tactics threaten to become commonplace as the ruling class moves to destroy effective trade unionism. The first step for a serious fightback must be a campaign within the trade union movement to drive out the scabs. Printworkers must unite with the NUM to demand the expulsion of EETPU, a concerted campaign against the UDM and the expulsion of any unions involved in strike-breaking. There can be no concession to appeals for 'unity' – unity with scabs is the unity of the graveyard. The only unity worth anything is a unity based on defending basic trade union rights.

Terry O'Halloran
(NUJ London Freelance Branch)

all past members of the Communist Party; that Ryan had been a member of Official Sinn Féin (now the reactionary Workers Party) and left it; that Maire and Jordan were involved in the Irish in Britain Representation Group and the Troops Out Movement; and that Maire wanted a united Ireland and regarded Irish people in prison in England for 'terrorist' offences as victims of the British occupation of the North of Ireland. Having implied guilt by association with political views and membership of legal political organisations, the prosecution had the affrontery to add 'This is not a political trial'.

Considerable pressure prior to the trial forced the Irish Embassy to send an observer to the first day of the trial. She refused every request for help on the day and has not been seen since.

FRFI and ISM comrades attended the Manchester Support Committee's sixty strong public meeting on the evening before the trial, where speakers included Dave Douglass, from Doncaster NUM and the Yorkshire Executive, and Pauline Sellars for FRFI. We helped respond to the situation on day one of the trial. The O'Shea Support Committee had some success with Manchester Piccadilly Radio interviewing the excluded ASTMS observer and the *Irish Times* quoting the press statement at length. As we go to press the trial ends its second week. The struggle to expose the travesty of justice must continue. We send our greetings to the defendants.

Tony Sheridan

Thirty years on... no change for Tory cabinet

Racism, imperialism, war and class rule – the newly released cabinet papers reveal that Britain was dominated by the same concerns in 1955 as it is today. The Cabinet secrets opened up under the 30 year rule are vetted: and this Tory government has exercised its veto against an unprecedentedly large amount of 1955 Cabinet material.

In 1955

● Churchill, just retired as Prime Minister, and Eden the incoming Prime Minister, and their Cabinet, were debating how to introduce immigration controls without upsetting the 'Commonwealth' (Churchill still preferred to call it the Empire). Eden is recorded as expressing particular alarm at the rise in the number of working class Indians entering Britain which he wrote 'unless checked' 'could become a menace'. Immigrants 'of a good type' from the 'old dominions' were welcome, but not those from Ireland, the West Indies or India. The time was not judged right for Britain to be seen to be operating a colour bar, and racist immigration controls were not introduced until 1961.

● A State of Emergency was declared: a railway strike, followed by a dock strike, and a strike in the Yorkshire coalfield proved that the post-war Welfare State working class was prepared to fight for more of the Empire cake than the Tories were prepared to give them. But Eden was able to note that NUM officials were dealing with the Yorkshire miners' strike, and removing that problem for the Government.

● Rockall, in the North Atlantic, was annexed by Britain, mainly in case it was claimed by another power, but also for possible use as a 'target' for a missile launching pad to be located in the Outer Hebrides.

Argentina was told 'Hands Off' the Falklands and surrounding islands in the South Atlantic – an early warning of how far Britain was prepared to go in the event of serious dispute over these 'British' dominions in the South Atlantic.

● The Middle East, source of Britain's oil, was another area of concern in 1955. Nasser's nationalist government in Egypt was seen as a threat to the continuing flow of cheap oil, particularly as Nasser was developing trade and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Israel, as the imperialist policeman of the area, was known to be planning an invasion of Egypt and the Cabinet laid plans for British intervention against Nasser.

● Despite knowing the dangers of atomic testing, the Cabinet agreed to develop Britain's atomic arsenal. However, the news that Britain possessed the H-Bomb was not put directly to Parliament. Instead, the Cabinet agreed that the announcement should focus on plans for the development of nuclear power stations for industrial and domestic purposes.

Racist, imperialist, war-mongering and arrogant – the British ruling class doesn't change.

Maggie Mellon

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More police lies

incident' (5.1). The purpose of the report is to reduce the death of Mrs Jarrett – caused by the brutish behaviour of police thugs – to the level of an 'excuse' for a 'riot' and to instil in the minds of potential jurors the idea that the police are the victims of a vicious conspiracy. The report provides no evidence whatever for its claims.

The police claimed that following Handsworth, Liverpool and Brixton there were 'persistent rumours' of 'plans afoot for a major disturbance and looting' (4.1). They then list 12 'occurrences' to substantiate these rumours. Four of the 'occurrences' are other rumours! Three are hoax phone calls; one concerns anti-Asian graffiti; one a robbery; one a shooting of a black man by another black man; one alleged harassment of a post office worker; and one alleged petrol bomb (4.1.1 to 4.1.11). Even assuming that these events actually happened, the report provides no evidence at all linking these occurrences either with each other or with the events of 6 October.

The 'petrol bomb' was allegedly found in a drain under a walkway on the estate on 2 October. Two questions arise immediately. Who would plan a riot on the basis of one petrol bomb stuck in a drain? Why have we never heard of this find before this report was leaked? In short, the report contains no evidence for the police's conspiracy fantasy.

The report states that, because of the rumours and 'occurrences' a contingency plan was initiated on the weekend of 5/6 October. Strange coincidence that this should be the weekend that the Tottenham police killed Mrs Jarrett. The report then says 'It is a matter of conjecture what would have occurred had Mrs Jarrett not died' (5.1). Perhaps the

Metropolitan Police could try an experiment: cease harassing, abusing and killing black people and see what happens. In any case the report is forced to admit that, as a matter of fact, nothing did happen until after the police killed Mrs Jarrett (5.1).

The only other 'evidence' for the police fantasies is that the community responded to the death of Mrs Jarrett quickly and efficiently; that 'lakes of petrol' were seen on the estate (14.11); and that 'basement garage areas... had been flooded with petrol' (14.12). The police have been forced to retract these ludicrous lies about lakes and floods of petrol. Council workers and the Council Building Design Service have proven that 'lakes of petrol' would have left unmistakable damage to the tarmac surfaces on the estate. There was no such damage. There are no basement garage areas. To flood the parking spaces with petrol would require the building of extra walls and the blocking of rainwater gullies. Otherwise it is physically impossible. The police were clearly exposed as liars.

The whole report is a lie. The truth of the Broadwater Farm rising is clear to all honest observers. The community struck back against the police killing of a black mother in her own home. The term 'honest observers' does not include most of the media who repeated every police claim, however stupid, whilst ignoring the testimony of the community. It was nothing but a police/media exercise in psychological warfare against the oppressed.

Hard on the heels of the 'officially' leaked police story, came the 'unofficially' leaked tales of WPS Meynell who accuses her superiors of suppressing evidence of preparations for a riot and adopting a 'softly, softly' approach on the night. Such divisions between the rank and file thugs and senior officers in the police are bound to develop in the wake of such intense physical defeats as that suffered by the police on 6 October 1985. That the police should engage in such a public internal battle is testimony to the shock they suffered when the people of Broadwater Farm struck back against police violence and racism.

Terry O'Halloran

Conspiracy trial held in camera

The trial of the five people arrested under the PTA December 1984 opened in Manchester on 14 January amidst intimidation and secrecy virtually amounting to 'in camera' proceedings. The major charge is that the defendants conspired together with others to cause an explosion in the United Kingdom, of a nature likely to endanger life or cause serious injury to property. Peter Jordan has pleaded guilty. Peter Lynch pleaded not guilty to the conspiracy charge and this was accepted by the prosecution. On the eighth day of the trial William Grimes also pleaded guilty to conspiracy. The remaining two are Maire O'Shea (66) and Patrick Brazil who are pleading not guilty.

On the first day of the trial, three of the men were brought to the court from Risley in a convoy of twelve police cars leading three vans, one defendant in each, with twelve more cars bringing up the rear. A helicopter accompanied this speeding entourage to the court and will have had a good view of the convoy smashing off a bumper from a private car in the car park. Literally hundreds of armed police had sealed off a large area of Manchester city centre and anyone attending the court was confronted by rooftop snipers, men in army drill with rolled up balaclavas, alsatians, security cameras, a metal detector gangway and repeated close body searches. All this to ensure that the jury, the press and the British public all got the desired impression that the remaining defendants, all

Irish, were guilty even before a word was uttered in the courtroom. The advice of Justice Mann to the jurors not to draw any inference from the high level of security about the guilt of the defendants had a cynical ring to it.

Mann's intentions in this the latest Irish show trial were made clear on day one when he endorsed the exclusion of the public from the 'public' gallery. Out of 36 seats only one place was allocated to relatives and friends of the five. This one seat was only granted after strong protest. The representative of Patrick Brazil's family was denied entry. So too the official observer from Maire's trade union ASTMS, representatives of the ISM including myself and journalists from *The Observer*, *Irish Post*, *Morning Star*

and RTE (Irish TV and radio). As the Manchester Maire O'Shea Support Committee press statement said, 'In effect it is the Police Special Branch who are not only providing the prosecution evidence but also preventing defence observers from entering the court.' Mann justified this exclusion of the public by saying that the press were the guardians of our liberties! The assembled hacks promptly disproved him by failing to report the restriction of the public gallery. Only the *Irish Times* mentioned it. For the rest of the trial, Mann has 'conceded' that any press seats still vacant at the day's outset can be used by the public – never more than four people got in the rest of the first week. Mann has thus stage-managed the trial so that the prosecution case is fed to the press vultures (aided by photocopied evidence distributed by the police in the court) with the public excluded.

From the outset the political nature of the trial has been undisguised. The prosecution has openly tried to influence the jury by going into the political affiliations of Maire O'Shea, Peter Jordan and another man named in the conspiracy, Daniel Ryan: that they were

Rich get richer as poor lose benefits

The annual survey by the Central Statistical Office, *Social Trends 1986*, reveals that the gap between rich and poor in Britain continues to widen. While the poorest 40% of households have seen their share of national income fall from 10.2% in 1976 to 7%, the share of the top 20% has grown from 44.4% to 48%. Thus the richest fifth of the nation now receive almost half its income.

Further, *Social Trends* shows the top group gain more state help in education and housing. While government subsidies to build council housing have more than halved, mortgage tax relief has doubled. *Social Trends* does identify some growth areas: for example house repossession by building societies have quadrupled. The number of 'neighbourhood watch' (information-gathering) schemes has risen to 3,500.

And the poverty of those on the dole is also steadily worsening. In 1981 only 27% of unemployed male claimants depended entirely on supplementary benefit – most of the rest received the higher rates of Unemployment Benefit – but by 1984 over 60% received only Supplementary Benefit. This change is mainly due to the steady increase in long-term unemployment – by April 1985, 45% of unemployed claimants had been claiming for over a year, and so could not claim Unemployment Benefit. In addition, many of the unemployed have never had a job long enough to earn the right to Unemployment Benefit. The number of the unemployed claiming Supplementary Benefit tripled between 1978 and 1983, and it is now these people and their dependents who make up most of the poorest fifth of the population.

Meanwhile, Social Services Secretary Fowler has said, when launching his green paper on benefits, 'Social security is not a function of the state alone', but 'a partnership between the family and the state'. This clear intention to drive claimants into reliance on charity, family or friends was confirmed in the social security

white paper presented before Christmas 1985.

The white paper proposals mean losses for 4 million people. Unemployed youth will be hit hardest, losing up to £7.50 per week. Millions of old people will suffer as the state earnings-related pension (serps) is cut to the bone. All claimants will now have to pay 20% of their rates. Despite overwhelming criticism, replacement of single payments for supplementary benefit claimants by the so-called 'Social Fund' is retained. Not only will this fund meet under 60% of the current £230m expenditure, but claimants will get discretionary loans – granted only after a humiliating interview, and repayable through automatic benefit deductions of 10-15%. The white paper also retains the replacement of Family Income Supplement (FIS) with Family Credit, which will be paid through the – largely male – pay

packet: a thoroughly sexist move.

Despite the Appeal Court rejection of Fowler's board and lodging rules in December 1985, almost identical rules approved by parliament in November remain in force.

Thatcher's rule has seen a massive transfer of wealth upwards. An estimated £13 billion has been cut from benefits. In the same period, tax handouts, mostly focused on the richest 5%, have amounted to a similar sum: £12.9 billion. Each year £900m of benefit entitlements go unclaimed – while the government and press whip up 'scrounger' hysteria. Tory ideology of 'self-reliance' is thus revealed as pure hypocrisy. For as the unemployed, youth and the elderly are thrust into homelessness and deeper poverty the rich are subsidised in their plunder of the nation's wealth.

Dave Burton and Dave Hunter



Metropolitan police on patrol at Heathrow airport with 9mm Heckler and Koch submachine guns whose bullets are so powerful that they can pass right through one person into another. Kenneth Newman's killer squad have also been issued with the L39A1 high-velocity rifle, rejected by the New York police as 'too dangerous for use in cities'.

NHS Damned lies and Tory statistics

Numbers are powerful things. Repeated often enough, they gain a status quite separate from reality. For example: the crisis in the NHS is self-evident – as wards close and standards decline. Yet Tory propaganda stridently proclaims that spending has increased, waiting lists shortened and so on.

However, recent reports reveal the depth of this deception. Labour Research shows that while Tories claim to have increased NHS spending in real terms, spending has in fact only kept pace with inflation. Yet the increasing demand for NHS services: from a greater number of elderly people, and for modern technology, demands a 1.5% increase in spending above inflation. The Sixth Report of the Social Services Committee shows growth on hospital and community



health services was merely 0.2, 0.8 and -0.1 per cent in the last three years. Thus Tory figures mask major cuts in real terms.

Again, the Tories pretend to have 'improved staffing and reduced waiting lists. The claimed increase in the number of nurses is however offset by a reduction in their hours, and 10,000 ancillary workers have been sacked since 1979. Waiting lists were doctored on government orders: by removing those waiting for day surgery, and by a statistical clean-up to

remove names of those who have moved, changed their minds or died. This latter operation 'cut' lists by 70,000: without treating a single extra patient. The Radical Statistics Health Group show in their report 'Unsafe in Their Hands', that an apparent reduction in waiting lists is produced by comparing current figures with a peak in March 1979 caused by NHS industrial action. If figures from March 1978 were used there would be a 15% increase to explain away.

Tory health spokesmen claim the NHS is treating more patients: but they don't reveal that the average length of hospital stay is decreasing, while community resources are cut back. Figures for 'patient cases' don't clarify how many 'cases' are readmissions for the same patient. The 12,900 decrease in NHS beds from 1980-8 is not mentioned. And nothing relates to the quality of care: Tory statistics present a sausage factory model of health provision.

Social Services Secretary Fowler's own constituency falls within the North Birmingham Health Authority: currently 12.7% below cash targets and, in its own words, 'Unable to carry out nursing care at an acceptable standard'. NBHA has no fair wage clause in its tenders for services, resulting in savage attacks on the pay and conditions of the lowest paid ancillary staff.

The reality behind Tory statistics is well understood by some: as Gene Burleson of American Medical International says, 'The cuts in the NHS create a demand for private care'. And it is clear that Tory policies themselves create additional health problems: as millions face unemployment, poverty and poor housing and as health and safety at work are attacked.

Dave Burton

EDITORIAL

The Labour left demonstrates against surcharging of Lambeth and Liverpool councillors (14 January 1986) but will they challenge Kinnock's betrayal?



STEFANO CAGNONI/REPORT

Crisis for Labour Lefts

At a packed meeting of 700 people on 12 January, called to defend 32 surcharged Lambeth councillors two days before their appearance in court, a dwindling band of those on the left of the Labour Party with any remaining credentials gathered to speak in the councillors' defence. Speakers included Arthur Scargill, Bernie Grant, Dennis Skinner, Ted Knight (one of the surcharged Lambeth councillors), Jo Richardson and Sharon Atkin (chair of the Labour Party Black Sections). Notably absent of course was Kinnock or any other Labour leader.

Despite the passion of their speeches, the topics most avoided by the speakers were the hopeless situation of the councillors and the fact that the leadership of their own party will have nothing to do with them. Kinnock's name was mentioned only a couple of times and Livingstone's defection to the Kinnock camp not at all. Rather than facing up to what had brought about the present situation, speaker after speaker preferred instead to focus on what the Labour Party should be and what the policies of a future Labour government should be. Their speeches were often heady stuff. 'We want to take what they (the ruling class) have and put it in the ownership of ordinary men and women...' (Arthur Scargill). 'The Labour Party must be the party of the oppressed and disadvantaged...' (Bernie Grant). 'We don't believe in cutting services to placate the middle ground. We are the people who have nothing...' (Sharon Atkin). 'Life's about conflict, about supporting our class against the ruling class. There's no middle way...' (Skinner).

LEFT LABOUR GOVERNMENT?

However, to talk about the left making a future Labour government more socialist is simply to evade the issue. Before a Labour government could put into practice any programme, left wing or otherwise, it has to be elected. And this is the crucial issue that will not go away by simply being ignored. For a Labour government to be elected it has to win back the votes of the more privileged sections of the working class and the middle class who deserted it in the last election. This is an undeniable fact of political life in Britain today. Kinnock, in this sense, is absolutely right. That is why the Kinnock-led Labour Party has shifted rapidly to the right. In other words, there is a fundamental contradiction between Labour winning the next election and building a socialist movement that will make radical changes in British society.

For the Labour left to talk about a future Labour government being the party of the 'oppressed and disadvantaged', when it would have to have been elected on the basis of a political programme which appeals to the privileged and 'relatively advantaged' (Kinnock), is at best disingenuous, at worst dishonest. It demonstrates the futility of the left's position inside the Labour Party. All the speakers at the Lambeth meeting have, in the recent period, suffered in one form or another in the wake of Kinnock's consolidation of political power in the Labour Party. Kinnock did as much as any section of the ruling class to bring about the defeat of the miners' strike. Scargill and Skinner know this. It was Kinnock who viciously denounced the black youth fighting police racism and harassment on the streets of British cities. Bernie Grant fully understands the political consequences of this. It was Kinnock who denounced black sections and who will not entertain the right of black people to organise in the Labour Party. Sharon Atkin knows this. And finally it was Kinnock who paved the way for the abject end of the stand by Labour councils against ratecapping and against the abolition of the Metropolitan County Councils. Ted Knight must know this as he faces bankruptcy and disqualification from office.

Ah yes, those on the Labour left argue, but the Labour Party can be changed. You must be in the Labour Party because it is the mass party of the working class. If you stand outside it, you stand aside from the struggles of the working class. These arguments are as old and deceptive as the Labour Party itself and are based on totally false premises. Firstly, it is all too apparent that the Labour Party holds back the mass struggles of the working class. In spite of the betrayal of the miners' strike, in spite of Labour's denunciation of the uprisings in the British inner cities, and in spite of Kinnock's betrayal of the fight by Labour councils against Tory cuts, the Labour left continues to insist

that the Labour Party can give a lead to the mass struggles of the working class.

For this to be possible, on each and every occasion the left would have to openly organise, as a first step, to take on Kinnock and the dominant trend in the Labour Party. This they cannot do for it would lose Labour the next election. The same is true about organising internally to change the Labour Party. Again, the minimal political requirement is to take on and defeat Kinnock's trend in the Labour Party. For the same reasons, the Labour left is not prepared to carry this through. So, in fact, the left's position inside the Labour Party is forcing them to stand aside from the mass struggles of the working class.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM

For some on the left, a more acceptable form of Labourism than that put forward by the racist, sexist national Labour Party, has been the municipal socialism of councils like the GLC, with its patronage of women's, gay, and black groups. But at the end of the day, it was largely middle class layers who benefitted from this patronage. So Thatcher was able to abolish the GLC without any significant opposition. Similarly, no significant forces exist to come to the defence of other Metropolitan councils or the surcharged Labour councillors. Even in Liverpool, Militant helped to bring about their own downfall with their own brand of bureaucratic manoeuvring and dogmatism. They actually alienated the support of those they had initially begun to win over.

The defeat of Liverpool, the abolition of the GLC and surcharging of the Labour councillors mark the end of the line for municipal socialism. The winds of 'realism' have swept through the Labour Party, the realignment in favour of Kinnock has taken place. But this leaves those on the left of the Labour Party and almost the entire British left with nowhere to go. It is no accident that major left organisations like the CPGB and WRP have split in the recent period. The left cannot acknowledge that the working class is divided and that the Labour Party and trade union movement, on which they base their whole political perspective, represent only the interests of a privileged layer within the working class.

We reject the Labour left's claim that there is no choice for socialists but to work in the Labour Party. On the contrary there is a very clear choice, in or out of the Labour Party. You can choose to politically protest and organise against the mass arrests, harassment and frame-ups of black and white people as a result of the inner city uprisings. Or you can ignore this struggle so as not to undermine the election prospects of a Labour government. You can protest and organise against the brutal strip-searches of Irish women prisoners in Brixton prison. Or you can ignore it so as not to undermine the election prospects of a Labour government. You can organise and break the law to fight Tory cuts and Tory union laws or cave in so as not to undermine the election prospects of a Labour government. The Labour left is faced with a critical choice. If it chooses to stay in the Labour Party without taking on Kinnock it will become an increasingly insignificant political trend, having a political base neither inside the Labour Party nor out of it.

Thus for all the socialist commitment of individuals like Scargill, Skinner, Atkin and Grant, by choosing to remain in the Labour Party and by refusing to publicly organise against Kinnock, they are actually covering up for the Labour Party's betrayals. Their calls for it to become the party of the oppressed and appeals for the socialist dawn to commence under a future left Labour government, become a left wing cover for a rotten, degenerate and totally reactionary party. Despite all the rhetoric about 'no middle way', they have chosen the party of the middle way, a party which from its beginning has existed not to defend the working class but to reconcile it with imperialism. The Labour Party does not, and will not ever represent the interests of the working class. It only represents the interests of a privileged layer within the working class.

As the Thatcher government sinks in the opinion polls and the question of a future Kinnock-led Labour government becomes more than a theoretical possibility, the debates on these questions have grown. It is our view that only a political break with the Labour Party and all that it stands for can take the struggles of the working class forward.

Attack, advance - an eye for an eye

The apartheid regime marked the New Year by announcing yet further measures of repression. The soldiers of the South African Defence Force (SADF), who already have a free rein to terrorise the black townships, have been granted even wider powers of arrest, detention, search and seizure; greater powers to disperse crowds, and to staff roadblocks without the assistance of the South African police. These powers also apply to soldiers in areas *not* covered by the State of Emergency. In addition, the ban on meetings of 74 political organisations has been extended to 30 June 1986.

The New Year has also been marked by increased threats and 'destabilisation' of the Front Line States by the apartheid regime, in order to force them to expel members of the African National Congress from their territories. On 19 January the apartheid regime managed to secure a coup in Lesotho, replacing Chief Leabua Jonathan with pro-South African General Justin Lekhanya, thus almost certainly securing the signing of a security pact to expel the African National Congress (ANC) from Lesotho.

But the ANC too have a New Year's message for the Boers - *Watch out because 1986 is the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe - the people's army*. The ANC have pledged to step up the armed struggle within South Africa in line with the continued resistance of the oppressed of South Africa.

Bekkersdal - Miners and people fight police

On Wednesday 22 January two white policemen were killed when they attempted to break up a meeting of 200 miners of the NUM which was being held in the black township of Bekkersdal. The community rallied to the defence of the gold miners and a crowd of nearly 1,000 was reported to have been involved in the battle as police attacked the township. The two policemen - the first white police to die at the hands of the people - were disarmed and their revolvers used to fire at police reinforcements who attacked the township.

Six miners and two residents were murdered by the police, over 40 injured

and nearly 300 arrested. 11 were immediately charged with the murder. All those arrested face torture and kangaroo courts. Predictably, the apartheid regime and the Western press expressed more concern and anger about the deaths of two white policemen than for the 1,030 black people killed in the struggle in the last 16 months.

Moutse - people fight back against forced removals

Despite ruthless repression the oppressed black people of South Africa continue to fight against apartheid on all fronts. For years the 120,000 inhabitants of Moutse in the Northern Transvaal have been resisting forced removal from the area where they have lived for over 200 years to first the Lebowa 'homeland' and now Kwa Ndebele 'homeland'. Kwa Ndebele is scheduled to be granted 'independence' by the apartheid regime this year, and clearly an augmented population and more land are handsome rewards for their collaboration. 1 January 1986 was the date set for the formal incorporation of Moutse into Kwa Ndebele but the local Youth Congress have led fierce resistance to this move and have taken on the South African police as well as the Kwa Ndebele vigilantes - armed and financed by apartheid. As Maredi Cheue, a leader of the resistance campaign, explained:

'Tension is escalating and mobilisation and resistance by the youth is formidable. An area which a few months ago was undisturbed and free of politics has become traumatic and politically charged.'



Many people have already been killed in Moutse in the struggle against forced removals but the fightback continues, as it does for 2,000 black people in Mathopetstad in Western Transvaal and for the 1,500 inhabitants of Motlatla who are fighting forced removal to Bophuthatswana 'homeland'.

Death squads and vigilantes

Alongside the continued brutality of the South African police and army there has been a growth of vigilante groups and death squads. As in all fascist regimes, as the struggle for freedom escalates, right-wing vigilante groups and death squads are created or encouraged, with the overt support of the police. Leading anti-apartheid activists and community leaders are targets for attack and murder. In the Tumahole township, the vigilante group known as the 'A' team has imposed a reign of terror on its inhabitants. Their latest victim is Lefu Rasego,

19, a political activist, who has been found brutally murdered. Ian Phumzu Zamisa, 31, Regional Organiser of the revolutionary South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) was stabbed to death outside his home. The body of Mr Ampsie Mayisa, 58, leader of Leandra township's UDF affiliated Residents Association, was found stabbed to death and burnt. Before he had been dragged from his house by vigilantes, and his home petrol-bombed, he telephoned the police for help; his appeal was ignored.

1985. This precipitated a coup within Lesotho, a country completely surrounded by South Africa and dependent on it for its food and power supplies. Chief Leabua Jonathan who gave support to the ANCHas now been toppled by General Justice Lekhanya who, three days before, together with other reactionary opposition groups, had talks with South African officials in Pretoria. Two days after the coup, a South African train pulling six petrol tankers and general goods crossed into Lesotho, demon-

1986 - Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe

On 8 January Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, declared 1986 as the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe - the People's Army. He pledged that the war against the apartheid regime would be stepped up:

'The charge we give Umkhonto we Sizwe and to the masses of our people is: Attack, advance, give the enemy no quarter - an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.'

In 1985, according to the regime's figures, 122 MK attacks were recorded - a dramatic increase compared to the 44 recorded attacks in 1984. On 23 December 1985 7 white people were killed in a limpet mine explosion on a shopping centre in Amanzimoti near Durban. On 9 January 3 policemen and two powerworkers were injured by an explosion at an electricity sub-station in Durban. On 20 January there were 5 bomb blasts in a suburb in Durban.

Over the past two months the ANC have also carried out a successful campaign laying landmines in South Africa's border farming areas, which the ANC have targeted because they 'have been declared military zones by the Pretoria regime'.

South African aggression against the Front Line States

Following the series of landmine explosions along the Northern Transvaal border with Zimbabwe and the deaths of 6 white people in the Messina farming area on 15 December 1985, the apartheid regime has been threatening retaliatory action against Zimbabwe - even though the ANC maintain that their freedom fighters carry out their armed attacks from bases within South Africa. South Africa is now planning to build a high voltage electrified fence along the border with Zimbabwe. With the increase in armed attacks indicating that the ANC has recovered its military capacity from the setback suffered by the Nkomati Accord and the Lusaka Agreement in 1984, the apartheid regime has once again issued belligerent warnings to Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Swaziland - stop supporting the ANC or else... On 20 December 1985 South African Commandos using guns fitted with silencers gunned down 9 people at a party in Maseru, Lesotho - including 6 members of the ANC. In retaliation to Lesotho's petition to the United Nations Security Council, and their subsequent condemnation of the raid, South Africa started an economic blockade of Lesotho on 31 December

strating South Africa's approval of the new regime.

This new phase of regional destabilisation by South Africa has affected other Front Line states as well: Swaziland has accused South African troops of violating its south-eastern border during the Christmas period and threatening local residents with attack if they did not rid their area of members of the ANC. South African troops are now being massed along the borders of Swaziland and of Botswana, where 2 white people were killed by a landmine planted by the ANC in the Afrikaans farming area of Ellistras early in the New Year.

At the same time the township regime has stepped up its war against the People's Republic of Angola. On 11 January, President Eduardo dos Santos accused South Africa of a new invasion into Southern Angola; that 3 South African army battalions backed by tanks and aircraft had advanced 90 miles into Angola from the Namibian border. In addition, at a time when Angola is launching a major offensive against South African-backed UNITA held territory, the Reagan administration has committed itself once again to 'covert' aid to UNITA. In a speech to mark 10 years of independence President Eduardo dos Santos explained why they were still struggling against the forces of imperialism.

'Because we are in Southern Africa the policies of imperialism will mean that we still continue to live in difficult circumstances for a few years. The hawks in the US encourage South Africa's policy of destabilisation and aggression. They will continue to force us to mobilise huge material and human resources. These are the sacrifices forced on us by imperialism...'

1986 - Unity in action

With support for the liberation struggle gaining ground around the world, the apartheid propaganda machine has been working overtime to propagate its racist lies. The imperialist media have eagerly seized on reports of 'tribal fighting', and recently there was much coverage of the fierce fighting between the Zulu and Pondo peoples in Durban. The message from TV and news coverage is increasingly that perhaps black South Africans are not ready for freedom after all. What is deliberately not explained is apartheid's long established practice of 'divide and rule', and the fact that 'tribal in-fighting' is promoted because unity in action is the apartheid regime's greatest threat.

Ruby Khan

The Sharpeville Six must not hang

On 13 December 1985, six young people from Sharpeville were sentenced to death for the killing of the 'deputy mayor' of Lekoa township on 3 September 1984. It is expected that the sentence - hanging - will be carried out in April, but it could be carried out at any time. An urgent mass campaign is needed to prevent these judicial murders.

The six sentenced to death are Teresa Ramashamula (24), Oupa Moses Dinis (30), Duma Joshua Khumalo (26), Francis Don Mokhesi, (28), Mojafel Reginald Sefatsa (30), and Reid Malabo Mokoena (22). Teresa Ramashamula is the first woman to be sentenced to death in a political trial in South Africa. At least three of the six were tortured whilst in detention, including Teresa whose arm was broken. Mojafel Sefatsa and Reid Mokoena were tortured with electric shocks, and Molafel's jaw was broken.

The trial itself was a travesty of justice. The defendants' evidence was dismissed by the trial judge, Mr Acting Justice Human (!). As is often the case in South African political trials, the state witnesses were held in custody and statements were extracted under torture. Neither the accused nor the witnesses were allowed to withdraw these statements at the trial, and questioning of the witnesses was ruled out. The trial was, in fact, a show-trial based on manufactured evidence in order to secure

convictions. The verdicts and sentences were intended to intimidate black people from challenging the power of apartheid.

According to the evidence given in the trial, Kuzwayo Dlamini, 'deputy mayor' of Lekoa, was murdered after a demonstration against increases in rates and taxes being imposed by the town council. The township councils were originally set up as part of Botha's phoney reform programme. The real nature of these councils became obvious when they began to impose rent and rate increases and to act in collaboration with the government and the police. All over South Africa, black people in the townships revolted against the rent and rates increases and against the stooge councillors. Intransigent councillors were killed in the uprisings. It was during one such uprising that Dlamini was killed.

The regime is now looking for scapegoats to pin murder charges on as a further escalation of the repression and intimidation used against black people. That is why the Sharpeville Six have

been sentenced to hang, despite the fact that there is no evidence to link them with Dlamini's death.

In stark contrast, the regime itself murdered 1,000 people in the townships in 1985 and has detained 8,000 people during the State of Emergency. 85 people have been murdered in police custody. Despite these massacres, no policeman, no member of the SADF, no prison warder, has been charged with murder.

Joyce Mokhesi, sister of Francis Mokhesi one of the accused, is a student at Ruskin College, Oxford. Over Christmas she visited five of the Sharpeville Six in gaol in South Africa. On her return to England, Joyce formed the Francis Mokhesi Defence Campaign in order to fight against the death sentences on the six young people. All readers are urged to contact the campaign at the address below to offer support. FRFI and City of London Anti-Apartheid Group are sponsoring the campaign and organising protests to oppose the death sentences.

Carol Brickley

Contact the Francis Mokhesi Defence Campaign: c/o Oxford University Africa Society, 13 Bevington Road, Oxford.

Hands off Winnie Mandela

In her recent outright defiance of the banning order which has confined her to the tiny, poverty-stricken township of Brandfort since 1977, Winnie Mandela has given a lead to the millions of black South Africans who are determined that the apartheid way of life will be destroyed.

In August her home in Brandfort was firebombed and extensively damaged. Winnie Mandela refused to return there, and stayed instead at her own family home in Soweto. For four months she flouted the banning order – which not only confines her to one area, but forbids her speaking to the press or in public. The regime took no action – caught by the fear of increasing the popular anger if they moved against her, but daily more embarrassed by her unflinching defiance of them.

On 3 December Winnie Mandela won international coverage when she appeared at the end of the mass funeral for those murdered in the Mamelodi massacre. Her appearance was a tremendous boost for the angry and defiant mourners who numbered at least 50,000. Without a public address system, her speech was heard in absolute quiet by the thousands present. 'The solution to this country's problems lies in these black hands' she told them 'that day is not far when we shall lead you to freedom'. For the regime, this act must have been one of the last straws. There followed a series of arrests and court appearances which attracted even more acclaim for Winnie Mandela and greater international contempt for the regime.

On 21 December the regime 'relaxed' the terms of her banning order; she would not have to return to Brandfort, but was still banned from the Johannesburg area which Soweto is in. She refused to accept the order or to co-operate with the police. Their response – to surround the house with armed policemen and to drag her forcibly out. Left by police at a hotel near Jan Smuts airport without money or luggage and injured by their thuggery, she was given money by hotel staff and immediately set off for her home again! Re-arrested two days later and jailed overnight, she again returned to her home straight from being charged in court. She left there for a visit to Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor prison – and on her return was re-arrested and again held overnight. Winnie Mandela is in her fifties but every time she is taken by apartheid's armed thugs she resists them all the way. Every arrest, every court appearance, is the occasion for

Throughout her life Winnie Mandela has waged a campaign of defiance of apartheid's laws, facing charges as serious as subversion and as petty as 'communicating with a banned person' on a Johannesburg street. Recently she has openly flouted the terms of her banning order and exposed to the world the tyranny of the apartheid regime. She has said of these banning orders 'There is no longer any need for me to read that type of document. It has been my way of life and the way of life of all those who have been similarly banned. I know it by heart.'



WINNIE MANDELA

Nomzamo Winifred Mandela plays and has played a leading role in the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa, as 'Part of my Soul' shows. The book outlines what her part in the struggle has entailed – from a brief sparse courtship with Nelson before he was jailed, to her banishment to Brandfort in 1977. It is an account of her contribution to the fightback from the part she played in the ANC's Women's League in the 1950s to her organisation of community projects in Brandfort.

Nomzamo is Xhosa for 'trial'. Much of Winnie Mandela's life has been a trial – and not just in the sense of a court trial. She says in the book: 'I think I am the most unmarried married woman'. She and Nelson were unable even to complete their marriage ceremony and their brief period of married life was constantly interrupted by their commitment to the struggle. Since Nelson was imprisoned Winnie has spent most of her life banned. There have clearly been difficulties in being forced to bring up her two daughters in such circumstances which her strength and the support of friends and relatives have helped to overcome. The government has always attempted to frighten friends away and to get at Winnie indirectly by harassing those who were prepared to stand by

her. The book is a tribute to the friends who, despite this threat, have continued to stand by her. Winnie has also faced police harassment. Being banned has meant having no privacy. The security police have made full use of their right to enter and search Winnie's house when they please. However she has always fought this infringement of what should be her human right. In 1967 she broke the neck (not fatally) of a policeman who had entered her bedroom without knocking. She was acquitted and comments in the book: 'The irony of it – the things I have not done, I've been found guilty of, and the only thing I did to my heart's satisfaction, I was not guilty of.'

On 12 May 1969 Winnie and 21 other men and women were held in detention and tortured under the Terrorism Act. After 491 days, spent mostly in solitary confinement, they were acquitted and released. She was again detained in August 1976 under the Internal Security Act after the Soweto uprising. She had helped to establish the Black Parents Association which, apart from being a welfare organisation – raising funds for burials – also publicly supported the students' political demands. The following year Winnie was issued with an order banishing her to Brandfort. There followed countless arrests – sometimes twice daily. Nonetheless, even in the isolated Afrikaans town she has organised to overcome the hardships of the poverty there. She set up a soup kitchen, a clinic and a Co-op which makes school uniforms. Her spirit of resistance has wrought changes – now only the post office remains segregated.

This account of her life gives a clear impression of what black people in South Africa face. Nonetheless it is an inspiration to read about a woman who, despite the resulting hardships, has dedicated her life to the struggle. As Winnie Nomzamo says: 'I would gladly go and water that tree of liberation with my own blood, if it means that the children I am bringing up under these conditions will not lead my kind of life.'

Susanna Lloyd

huge crowds of supporters to gather, cheering and shouting defiance.

Her appeal against the banning order preventing her living in her own home was rejected. Her trial for breaking the

order repeatedly was due to be held on Wednesday 22 January – the people of South Africa and of the world watched. The trial was postponed until 19 February! When they touch this woman,



POPPER/PHOTO

they have truly struck a rock!

Winnie Mandela has shown a tremendous lead to the people's resistance and to anti-apartheid activists the world over. We must play a part in spreading that spirit of resistance against the tyranny of apartheid and apartheid's backers here in Britain. Join with City AA in the Hands Off Winnie Mandela Campaign, launched to raise £500 for Winnie Mandela's own projects in South Africa and to publicise and support her as a great leader and representative of the hundreds of thousands of women and men in struggle in South Africa.

Picket! South African Airways
Oxford Circus, 11.30am Saturdays 1, 8, 15 February:
Ban South African Airways – Not Winnie Mandela!

Meeting! Hands Off Winnie Mandela!
Speaker: Norma Kitson
Monday 17 February 8.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square WC1

Special picket of the South African Embassy
Friday 21 February 5.30-7.30pm

Walk for Winnie
Saturday 22 February 12 noon.
Sponsored walk from the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square to Downing Street 23 times, once for every year Nelson Mandela has been in gaol.

Maggie Mellon and Richard Roques

Political asylum for Garnett Korler

The Garnett Korler Defence Campaign has, in four weeks, secured the release of Garnett from prison and will fight on to demand that he not be deported to racist South Africa.

Garnett, a black South African, is under threat of deportation to apartheid. He fled there two years ago from the vicious immorality laws with his girlfriend, who is white, and their child. They settled in Manchester where they were married, but unfortunately their relationship has since dissolved. In December he was given a 2 month sentence for a first offence, a petty shoplifting charge, which was unusually severe.

He was due for release on 22 December, but instead the prison authorities, in collaboration with the Home Office, moved him into the remand wing to await his deportation. At the initiative of FRFI and others, weekly pickets of the prison were immediately organised and a defence campaign established. The pickets gave confidence to Garnett and other prisoners and their visitors, whilst racist screws shouted 'deport him', 'hang him' and such-like abuse. They told one supporter over the phone that he had already been deported.

After 4 weeks the Home Office conceded to the pressure and ordered Garnett's release on condition that he report weekly to the police, whilst they consider his application for asylum. He has been involved in the black consciousness movement and students organisations since 1976 so obviously if he is deported he would face persecution.

When he first came to Britain Garnett thought he would be free from the persecution of apartheid, but now finds that he is being persecuted under Britain's own apartheid laws – the Immigration Acts. The fact that the Home Office is threatening to deport him to South Africa now shows that they collaborate with apartheid. Therefore the campaign must now involve as many people and organisations as possible to oppose this collaboration and demand political asylum for Garnett Korler. The unity of organisations in defence of Garnett and others can only be built on the basis of democratic participation for all involved.

Garnett Korler and Chris Procter

The GKDC meets weekly on Wednesdays at Manchester Town Hall at 7.30pm and can be contacted at: GKDC c/o the Law Centre, 593 Stockport Rd, Longsight, Manchester 12

SOUTH AFRICA CONCERNS YOU

'South Africa Concerns You' is a new organisation of Asian people in Glasgow and Edinburgh which aims to involve Asians in the struggle against apartheid. The group seeks to promote awareness about apartheid in the Asian community by producing leaflets, holding public events and providing speakers for Asian organisations. They also encourage Asian shopkeepers to boycott South African goods and they raise money for the Southern African liberation movements.

SACY recently held a very successful benefit evening in Glasgow which raised £400 for SWAPO medical kits. Three hundred people turned up to watch Asian musicians and dancers perform, and to hear speakers from the ANC and SWAPO.

If you would like to be put in touch with SACY, write to FRFI in Glasgow. (Box 10, 340 West Princes Street, Glasgow).

Gareth J

DUNDEE – DEFEND THE WELLGATE TWO!

The Dundee AA Group is holding a Day of Action on 22 February part of which is a picket of the Wellgate Centre where the local Tesco's Store is. The manager of this store called the police on the AA Group before Christmas and succeeded in getting two members arrested and charged. The AA Group has mounted a campaign to defend the two and to defend freedom of speech on South Africa. Tesco's managers must be picked for their racism and not for their belief that the customer is always right!

AAM AGM

Anti-Apartheid News Covers Up

The AA News of Jan/Feb 1986 contains a report of the AAM AGM on 1 December. This anonymous report gives no information on motions passed, decisions taken, issues discussed and points made. Instead the report is devoted to attacking the RCG and 'their allies in the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group'. The report does admit that there is a dispute in the AAM and that it is about 'the strategies and methods for achieving the destruction of apartheid'. The movement is described as polarised. However, we are not informed about what issues have polarised the movement.

No account is given of the actual debates and decisions at the AGM – on racism in Britain, the use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act against members of the Southern African liberation movements, the need to oppose new restrictions on the right to protest. All of these were issues raised by the RCG and City AA. Our motions were passed. The defeat of the motion calling for the reinstatement of City AA is acclaimed. But no reference is made to the censorship of all statements on City AA's expulsion other than the

EC's. There is certainly no attempt to justify this, or the strong arm methods used by their stewards to achieve it. We are accused of trying to 'force the doors' at the beginning of the meeting. In fact their stewards – white, large and male – assaulted those trying to get in for refusing to hand over personal documents and belongings. The report goes on to make the astonishing claim that the RCG's fight for open debate, criticism and democracy in the AAM actually prevents any changes for the better. Members, we are told, are so frightened of any different viewpoints to the old 'tried and trusted' ones that they 'close ranks' and refuse to discuss. Even overlooking the fact that many of these 'timid' delegates were only there to vote for the leadership, this justification for the quite obvious stampeding of debate and voting on the day is incredible.

By the end of the report, the aim is clear. The rallying cry is for a spirit of 'disciplined unity', and for acceptance of the Interim Report of the Development Sub-Committee which offers three different options for stamping out any other dissident voices.

A letter of complaint sent to the National Committee of the AGM about the censorship and assaults on RCG and City AA comrades remains unacknowledged and unanswered. We will be submitting a reply to this latest attack – but expect continued censorship of what the real issues are about.

Maggie Mellon

Action against apartheid defence campaigns

All of those charged as a result of the successful 19 October mass protest at the South African Embassy have now been tried. All were convicted of causing an obstruction for their part in the sit-down protest caused by the police's behaviour on the day when they broke the Public Address System and sealed off the embassy, forcing people onto the road – and then sealed off the road and waded in to arrest protestors.

Despite all being convicted of the same offence, on the same occasion, the penalties imposed by different magistrates on different days have varied considerably. Two women, Nikki Renston and Annie Wakefield, were both sent to prison for refusing to pay £50 fines and £30 costs. Still others, refusing to pay similar penalties, have had 'distress warrants' issued against them – this means bailiffs being sent in to seize their property to the value of the amount owed.

One of these two is a homeless youth who only owns what he stand up in! At the last trial – 23 January in Bow Street – four women who refused to accept an offered bindover were convicted but conditionally discharged and had costs of £12.50 awarded against them.

Annie Wakefield, who was sentenced to seven days imprisonment on Saturday 18 January, reports that Holloway was buzzing with excitement on Tuesday night when the women could hear the City AA picket outside the gates! Annie spent her time inside advertising the City AA pickets of the South African Embassy and was able to talk to a lot of the women about what is going on inside and outside of Britain's prisons. She even won one new recruit for City AA!

Viraj Mendis must stay

The second part of Viraj Mendis's appeal against a deportation order was completed on Tuesday 28 January just as we went to press (full report in the next issue). While the result is not yet known, evidence mounts that if Viraj, a communist and FRFI supporter, is forcibly returned to Sri Lanka he will be subject to persecution.

On 18 December 1985 the *Financial Times* reported that the British-backed regime has arrested 100 Sinhalese left-wingers under a combination of Sri Lankan Emergency Powers Act and Prevention of Terrorism Act. They were arrested for their support of the Tamil struggle. Viraj, who is Sinhalese also supports the Tamil liberation movement. The report highlighted the case of the brother of a well known MP arrested among the 100. If such persecution is meted out to such people, it is more than likely to be practised against less well known people.

Furthermore, President Jayawardene at a meeting of Commonwealth heads of government gave notice of the repression he is preparing against the left in Sri

Lanka when he stated that the country was facing a 'Marxist terrorist conspiracy'. Speaking to Indian journalists Jayawardene was more forthright, claiming he was preparing for the 'total liquidation' of 'terrorist elements'. For the Tamil people, inseparable from the Tamil guerilla movement, this 'total liquidation' means total genocide. For Sinhalese leftists it means persecution, imprisonment, torture and possibly death.

Whatever the result of Viraj's appeal, the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign and FRFI will fight until Viraj's right to remain in Britain is firmly guaranteed.

For the latest news write to: VMDC, Box 38, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M3 4BN

Terror tactics in Tottenham

The police have completed the first stage of their offensive against the community of Broadwater Farm Estate and the Tottenham area. Having occupied the estate for over 8 weeks they have largely withdrawn their forces, keeping about 100 on patrol and standby.

Stage One saw the residents subjected to the constant presence of police, police dogs, helicopters and motor vehicles day and night in an open show of brute force. Stage Two has seen what Sir Kenneth Newman, Head of the Met, has called 'targeting'. Vicious snatch squads have been sent against individuals and families selected from the community. The aim at Stage Two is clearly to enable the police to build up their 'evidence'. The cases of those on serious charges will be going through the courts at the end of January and throughout February. Picking up 'targets' is taking place in order to prepare for Stage Three which will complete the criminalisation process in the courts. Instead of blundering round brutally, the raids, arrests and charges in recent weeks have been to prepare for the police prosecution of the people.

To date there have been 210 arrested and only half of them have been charged. Arrests, raids, pickaxing open doors all continue. In one week starting 6 January there were 7 known raids and 5 arrests. On 8 January a woman living off the estate suffered a third raid on her house and her two sons were arrested and released later without charge. The mother was beaten up by the police and threatened with further harassment if she ever set foot on Broadwater Farm Estate. On 9 January a coachload of police sledgehammered their way into a flat and took a young man off to Brixton prison. In the same week a young couple were raided and arrested for a second time, as was a grandmother whose two-year-old grandchild was placed in care within hours.

One young woman who was arrested and interrogated for hours on end, despite being unwell with high blood pressure, was rushed to hospital and placed on a drip the next day. Another young woman, who arrived home to find 25 police in her flat, was held for over 30 hours. As she told FRFI comrades, she was interrogated throughout that time about Winston Silcott. She was asked continuously, 'What are you afraid of?' and 'Why don't you tell us that he held you up and persuaded you to take blood-stained clothes and a machete back to your place?'. She was finally released without charge.

The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign called a Press Conference for 16 January before the publication of the Metropolitan Police report. The defence campaign wished to alert the media to the degree of harassment, surveillance and illegality being suffered by the community. Official complaints have been made about phone tapping, and police refusal to allow solicitors to gain access to defendants. But the real suffering of the ordinary people was also voiced. They told us what it is like to live under the surveillance and targeting policy of the British state. In the words of one mother from the community, 'it has corrupted your lifestyle.'

The Defence Campaign must fight on through Stage Three of the offensive by the state against the people. The dates of court appearances must be got out to the community and its supporters as soon as possible, and pickets must be mounted. The first major appearance will be on 26-28 February at Highbury Magistrates Court, when 5 people will face charges of murder and affray. For it is when the people are weary with harassment, frightened by threats to themselves and their families, and isolated in the police and prison cells that the defence of the arrested is most vital. Those who rose up in anger against years of police racism and anti-working class actions must not be left to rot in the jails of the British state. They fought for the rights and dignity of their community on 6 October; we must not allow police terror tactics to leave them isolated now. There must be protests at every level, official complaints, on the streets and from within organisations about what is happening in Tottenham. In future days the measure of commitment to the defence of democratic rights will be made by the stand that is taken now - in words and in deeds - with the people of Tottenham and Broadwater Farm.

Susan Davidson and Ken Hughes

Information available from: Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign, c/o BWFYA, Tangmere, BWF Estate, N17.



JOHN LEWIS

Free Winston Silcott

On Saturday 18 January the Winston Silcott Defence Campaign (WSDC) organised a 70-strong picket of Brixton gaol. Winston Silcott is still on remand in Brixton, held as a Category A prisoner, framed for the death of PC Blakelock, along with 3 others, during the Tottenham uprisings (see FRFI 55).

The militant picket was supported by FRFI, Black Peoples Campaign for Justice, South London Irish Solidarity Committee (SLISC), Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign, Break out! collective, Campaign Against Police Repression, City AA, SWP and others. The picket was chaired by an RCG member active in the campaign, and the lively singing and slogan shouting was kept up for over three hours. Passers-by stopped to talk to the picketers and sign the petition; buses and cars tooted their horns in support and many messages of solidarity were received. George Silcott, Winston's brother, told FRFI:

'Pickets like this are a good thing... they let the prisoners know that we are with them, and help to fight the media and police lies.'

The campaign is now at a crucial stage: youths as young as 14 are still being picked up by the police and threatened that they too will be charged unless they agree to give evidence against Winston. Winston's committal date has been set for 26-28 February at Highbury Magis-

trates court, and the WSDC is organising pickets of the court on those days. FRFI comrades have been working in the campaign since its inception, and following the success of the picket a South London support group has been set up.

We urge all our readers to attend the court pickets and support the campaign. As the WSDC point out, Winston's case is not an isolated incident.

Leaflets and petitions have been produced and are available from the WSDC. Sponsors of the campaign so far include Sharon Atkin, (Chair Labour Party Black Section), Jo Richardson MP, Hazel Smith (Lambeth Labour Councillor) and FRFI.

The WSDC urgently needs donations to continue its work, and speakers from the campaign are available to address meetings.

The Campaign can be contacted at: Winston Silcott Defence Campaign The Triangle Centre 92 St Annes Road London N15 Charine and Marvin



'Justice' for the Daneford 12

On 10 January 7 supporters of the Campaign Against Racism in Schools were found guilty of obstruction. The charges arose from a picket of an Inner London Education Authority Divisional Office called to protest against racism at Daneford School in East London (see FRFI 54 and 55). The 12-day trial was influenced on the last day by a three page witch-hunting article in the Times Educational Supplement ('Ultra left tightens grip on schools') attacking teachers at the school for organising to defend pupils. The court awarded costs of over £1,000 against the defendants - 'It's meant to hurt' said the magistrate. Donations and support should be sent to Daneford 12 Defence Fund, c/o 59 Bow Road, London E3.

HONEYFORD - OUT BUT NOT DOWN

Racist Headmaster Ray Honeyford has finally been removed from Drummond Middle School in Bradford - at a price. He received a 'golden handshake' of £162,000 for accepting 'early retirement', and has stated his intention to stand as a Parliamentary candidate for the Tories: he was one of those wined and dined at Downing Street last year.

The National Union of Teachers (NUT) reneged on the Drummond Parent Action Committee (DPAC), which fought long and hard campaign to have Honeyford dismissed. It has since suspended 16 of its members who struck in support of the DPAC, and is now investigating the possibility of expelling them from the NUT. Honeyford, of course, was given sympathetic coverage in the racist bourgeois press, and after his golden handshake, he was also paid thousands of pounds for a series of articles in the *Daily Mail* in December.

Charine James

CONFERENCE ON RACISM IN BRUSSELS

On 9 and 10 January I attended a youth conference on racism at the European Parliament representing the Groce Family Support & Community Defence Campaign in which I work as an FRFI delegate. Over 50 other delegates representing anti-racist and anti-fascist groups from all over Europe were also present.

Following my main contribution, questioners urged black people in Britain to join the Labour Party. Pointing to its racist history, I explained that it was no ally of black people or of the working class. It condemned, like the Tories, the risings in Tottenham and Brixton and, with trade union support, voted against black sections in the Labour Party. It also, I reminded delegates, scabbed on the miners' strike. Amid applause, black delegates from France and the Netherlands shouted that their social democratic parties were no different.

As most black workers in Europe have no basic democratic rights - to vote, for example - many delegates argued that the struggle for democratic rights was an effective means of combating racism. While agreeing on the critical importance of this struggle, I pointed out that in Britain, where black people do have the vote, racism is as deeply entrenched as anywhere else. The struggle for democratic rights must be combined with the struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

Ronnie

MANNINGHAM - COMMUNITY UNDER ATTACK

'We the Manningham Community feel that we should issue this statement as a direct and truthful response to so many of the lies that have recently appeared in the press as an attempt to criminalise our community. We would like the people of Bradford to know the truth: we are not criminals, we are not drug pushers; we are a community under attack.'

For a long time now we... have lived under pressure from the police... They speak about our drug problem - we have problems but not with drugs. We don't know who diagnosed this problem, newspapers have informed the public about this problem, the police have told the courts about the drug problem but nobody has approached us to confirm or discuss it with us.

The Perseverance Hotel at Manningham is supposed to be the 'drug centre of the north'... The Manningham Community... has been subjected to an unjustifiable onslaught of vague, generalised and biased accusations by the media and law. Manningham now has such an undeserved reputation that anyone who is not familiar with the area would believe that all members are either drug pushers, pimps or criminals. This untruth has been taken in hand by the police who on 31 January 1986... carried out an operation which resulted in several members of our community being arrested and charged with various drugs related offences - including the landlord of the Perseverance pub and his family.

Yet all those arrested were not 'rounded up' in a drugs raid on the pub as implied by the press. The operation was carried out over a 2 day period, and many of those arrested were literally snatched off the streets, taken to the police station and strip searched amongst other illegalities. This was the latest in a long series of assaults on our community...

PEOPLE AND POLITICS

Yorkshire miner calls for left alliance

Recently, many people who had raised funds for striking miners were shocked to receive a letter from the Labour Party asking them to raise money for the Labour Party. Yorkshire miner Dave Douglass discusses this and other problems facing militant miners.

Individuals and organisations all over the country who have been raising money to help the victimised men, in jail or on the dole, were surprised by recent correspondence from Peter Heathfield, the General Secretary of the NUM. Because of the poverty of the Labour Party and their need for extra financial assistance he had passed the addresses of all the miners' fund raisers on to Whitty, the General Secretary of the Labour Party, who in turn had had the cheek to write to them all and ask could he have some money as well please? When one considers that most of these fund raisers are on the 'far left', hated by the Kinnock team, and range from anarchists through to black activists and Irish militants, he must have been doing some wishful thinking. Especially at a time when Kinnock, in league with the gutter press and the Tory cheer leaders, has launched a merciless witch hunt in the Labour Party as a prelude to a widespread assault in the labour movement at large against militants with both a large M and small. Many of the potential sponsors filled the forms in and sent them back to Whitty saying 'Stop the witch hunt, Call the hounds off Liverpool, Reinstate all the sacked miners, Amnesty for all jailed miners.'

There was another reason why this 'trading' of fund raisers was thoughtless: the pitiful state of the sacked miners fund. We have all been told in the branches that the fund expires in March and from then on we'd be on our own. If fund raisers had to be recontacted it should have been for them to redouble their efforts to support the people who were suffering for taking on the Tories and traitors like Kinnock. As it turned out, that was the unexpected effect of the correspondence: people and organisations have resolved to raise more cash — not for Kinnock's road show but for the men sitting in the cells of which there are about 40, and the men sitting at home looking at the four walls of which of course there are hundreds.

Meantime in the Yorkshire coalfield the need for a left alliance of branch militants throughout the county is urgent to combat the rightward shift in the area.

Perhaps the most important resolution to appear on the agenda at a recent area council meeting came from Silverwood Colliery which had recently been on strike over the demand for reinstatement for sacked men. Silverwood's perspective was identical to that of my own and many other Doncaster branches. Namely that pits experiencing financial difficulties and tottering on the brink of closure owing to poor production, ought to drive like hell to profitability to get the pit's head above water. Meantime, all the pits in profitability and therefore needed by the NCB, should stage a series of co-ordinated and sustained guerilla strikes until the men are reinstated. The resolution was seconded by Frickley, the most profitable pit in Doncaster. Not surprisingly Kellingly, led by the arch right wing delegate Howard Wadworth vehemently opposed it. What was surprising was the opposition from Rossington Colliery (Doncaster) who have 25 sacked men.

Jack Taylor, the area president, delivered the final coup de grace with a constitutional argument, saying that if we were to organise for and plan for a series of such strikes then we must certainly have a ballot or else any reactionary element could take us to court again and confiscate our already depleted funds. Winning a ballot at this stage would be virtually impossible, and a defeat in such a ballot would be taken as a green light to the Board that the members didn't want the sacked men back. We would in short have balloted those men's jobs away. Given the lack of a co-ordinated centre for the militants to regroup, given the lack of a campaign to keep the members informed and to combat the lies of the press and all pervasive demoralisation tactics of the Euros it was a persuasive argument.

When put to the vote the Silverwood resolution carried only about seven votes, mostly from the militant Doncaster area. The whole situation points up the crying need for a non sectarian left and militant alliance in the coalfield as a whole to combat the rightward shift in the area.

David Douglass
Branch delegate Hatfield Main NUM Doncaster

The address of the Miners Solidarity Fund is c/o NUM, St James House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield, South Yorkshire S12 EX.

Leftwing lawyers up against the law

In FRFI 54 we reported that barrister Mike Mansfield was to be brought before the bar disciplinary tribunal for his part in successfully defending miners facing riot charges. Mike Mansfield is one of a handful of lawyers who have used their legal skills to defend people under attack by the state. The threatened disciplinary proceedings have now been dropped. Terry O'Halloran looks at the issues raised in this affair.

Mike Mansfield's offence was that he helped to defeat a major attempt by the state to criminalise, isolate and imprison striking miners. Working with other progressive lawyers, Mike scored victories in the courts and finally forced the government to drop hundreds of riot and unlawful assembly charges. By December 1984 600 miners were facing such charges. On 1 December that year, defence lawyers, including Mike, met in Sheffield to discuss matters of common concern.

One of the barristers present at the meeting — Simon Wood — complained that the meeting breached various arcane Bar regulations. The essence of the accusation against Mike and the other lawyers at the meeting was that they had engaged in a collective defence.

The bourgeois legal system in Britain does not recognise the existence of classes or social conflict between classes. The law is based on the hypothetical 'individual' who had equal rights with all other hypothetical 'individuals'. The

Claimants organise to fight DHSS

Claimants threatened with homelessness by Social Security board and lodgings rules have formed HASSLL (Homeless Against Social Security Lodgings Laws) to defend themselves. Bill More, London co-ordinator for HASSLL, spoke to FRFI. Bill More is, himself, homeless and sleeps rough on the South Bank.

HASSLL was formed in February 1985 following a series of public meetings where claimants got together to decide how to fight the new DHSS board and lodgings rules. At least two claimants have committed suicide and an unknown number have been made homeless as a result of these rules. As Bill More told me, claimants have been forced to act because 'if they do nothing, they are virtually homeless for life'.

HASSLL is an organisation of claimants themselves. 'CHAR, Shelter and so on are admirable bodies' Bill explained 'but they work without recourse to the claimants themselves. I cannot recall

ever having seen a CHAR or Shelter rep or even a housing advice worker on the dole queue handing out info.' HASSLL organises distribution of leaflets and basic information to dole queues and day centres. As Bill said 'the argument is going to be won from the grassroots and not from people telling us what's wrong. We know what's wrong.'

One of the issues HASSLL is taking up is the appalling conditions in bed and breakfast hotels. A survey last year by Camden Council revealed that of 131 such hotels, not one passed the hygiene standards; less than half passed the fire regulations; and most were badly overcrowded. Some people live in such conditions for 2 or 3 years. In November 1984, the death by fire of a family living in one of these death-traps led to the occupation of Camden Town Hall. Camden Labour Council called the police in to deal with the homeless black families in the protest.

Recently, Camden again called the police in when 30 homeless people, representing 11 families, occupied the Homeless Persons Unit. Bill More's explanation of how a left-wing Labour Council could end up using the police against the homeless is simple: 'they are trying to manage the unmanageable'. Just how 'unmanageable' is shown by the government's 1984/5 allocation of £27 million for Camden's housing needs. The Council had applied for £101 million.

Bill More believes that HASSLL has to unite with all homeless people, squatters, hostel residents and people in short-life housing. Only if the homeless are politically organised can they make their voice heard. 'It's no good going in as individuals and getting the same old crumbs. We've got to go in collectively and say "We know what crumbs are on offer. We want a much larger loaf."'

Terry O'Halloran

HASSLL can be contacted c/o Russell Chambers, London, WC2 (tel: 01-836 5320)

major sins; the first was to encourage collective, organised defence; the second was to win. For these sins, Mike Mansfield was to be punished. Fortunately the case against him was so shaky that it had to be dropped. But it will happen again.

The ruling class is preparing the laws it needs to deal with growing opposition to its rule. The new Public Order Bill redefines riot so that convictions will be much easier to obtain. The attack on juries is growing rapidly. The jury is the one element in a trial that the government cannot be certain of. Juries acquitted striking miners; Clive Ponting; the Bradford 12 amongst others. Direct manipulation of the law and the courts becomes daily more overt. In this context, the role of progressive lawyers is crucial in the development of organised defence of the people against the state.

Lawyers who put themselves at the disposal of the people will themselves come under the state's attack. As one lawyer told FRFI, when the state is trying 'to deal with protest and dissent by coercion, and getting a reaction from black people, working people generally' it does not want lawyers who use 'the law to scrutinise its actions and act as a restraint.' The attack on Mike Mansfield was an 'attempt to frighten everybody off'.

There is no doubt that there will be more such attempts. Progressive lawyers will be more and more forced to choose between defending their own careers and defending the people. The attack on Mike Mansfield is an inevitable part of the state's attempt to remove the democratic rights we need to defend ourselves.

Terry O'Halloran



● Taking a crumpled leaf from the Alf Parrish manual of pension retention for the policeman of dubious propriety, chief superintendent Bert Sheldon, the head of Bournemouth traffic division who was convicted last month of drunken driving, has retired on grounds of 'ill health'. He will not now face a disciplinary hearing which would certainly have recommended the sack, and loss of all pension rights.

● Another disciplinary tribunal has found chief inspector John Clinton, of Cheshire police, guilty of misconduct after making racist remarks about black people to a meeting of Mobberley parish council. Clinton alleged that black people were the source of a local crime wave and would be picked up if found on the normally caucasian coloured local streets. This proponent of apartheid, Cheshire-style, is to appeal against the tribunal's findings, but perhaps retirement due to ill health would be a tactic of greater discretion, if less valour.

● There is a new section in the police disciplinary code, which makes it an offence to stop, search, arrest, threaten, assault or in any way improperly treat a person because of their race, colour or ethnic origin. This offence was introduced some four years after it was first recommended by Lord Scarman in his report on Brixton '81. It is an interesting fact that in the eight months since the offence was put on the books, it has never been used, by any force, against any policeman.

● The Palestinian attacks on Israeli El Al airline terminals at Rome and Vienna airports have been used as a handy pretext by the British police to arm themselves with automatic weapons. No civilians will suffer in the cross fire of course. To quote the Scotland Yard tactical firearms unit, 'If a terrorist comes here and starts indiscriminate shooting at passengers, we need to get a hit quickly and effectively because to get in and take him out [sic] is going to save lives.' There is the small proviso that, 'We will not stand there and spray bullets around'. But as they swagger into the Heathrow departure lounge, Heckler and Koch submachine gun (400 rounds per minute) slung casually under the right arm, policemen may reflect on the fate of PC Brian Chester, who has now been summonsed for the manslaughter of five-year-old John Shorthouse, shot by Chester during a police raid last August. Chester may yet get away with it and his superiors are obviously on his side: they have offered the Shorthouse family a derisory £3,500 to compensate for the loss of their son.

● Police File cannot ignore the passing of the late and unlamented Leon Brittan. The panic surrounding the former boss-of-rozzers and Trade and Industry Secretary was so great in the days prior to resignation that on one occasion, his police escort went completely AWOL and chased after a burglary suspect, firing lethal weapons at all and sundry. One shot 'fired into the air' is the subject of an investigation by the Police Complaints Authority.

● The press and television has begun to precede references to this same authority with the word 'Independent'. This is not its correct title and the new addition will fool only the occasional reader of the Sun.

The Middle East



Simon Peres, 'Israel's' Prime Minister, visited London in January. He met Thatcher's government and 'fellow socialist' Neil Kinnock. They all talked about 'peace', and 'compromise' in the Middle East. British imperialism plays its role in the charade of the US sponsored 'peace process'. Behind it, the US Mediterranean armada threatens war against Libya. Behind talk of 'peace' is Zionism's renewed terror against a resurgent Palestinian resistance in the occupied territories. Eddie Abrahams explains the political background.

Reagan prepares for war against Libya

A vicious tide of anti-Arab racism is sweeping the United States. Whipped up by President Reagan, its target is the Libyan people and Colonel Muammar Gadhafi, leader of the Libyan government. They have been subjected to unbridled racist abuse, slandered and reviled. The media has depicted Colonel Gadhafi as a 'lunatic', and a 'psychopath' in 'need of psychiatric care'. Before the world's press Reagan called him 'a barbarian and a little bit flaky'. Billboards alongside US highways scream 'Honk if you want Khadafy wasted!!' Conditions have been created resulting in numerous attacks on Arabs living in the United States. Meanwhile Reagan imposed economic sanctions against Libya in January and together with the CIA and Pentagon prepared plans for a possible military attack on the country.

This campaign is but the latest in a long series to undermine and possibly overthrow the anti-imperialist Libyan government. It is one element in a grand US strategy to eliminate all opposition in the Middle East, strengthen Zionism and the pro-imperialist Egyptian, Jordanian and Tunisian governments and thereby reassert total US domination of the region. To these ambitions Colonel Gadhafi's government is an obstacle.

The killing in Rome and Vienna on 27 December 1985 of 19 people, and wounding of 120 by men alleged to belong to the Abu Nidal organisation, was for Reagan no more than a pretext to justify a potential US military attack. He claimed to have 'irrefutable evidence' that Abu Nidal operates from Libya. Yet even the CIA was unable to

produce any evidence. He accused Libya of being a 'terrorist state' which had committed 'armed aggression' against the USA and which presented a 'threat to the national security and foreign policy of the US'. Such charges against a small nation of 3m people have as much substance as similar ones thrown against Nicaragua's Sandinista government. US imperialism, however, does have sound imperialist reasons for harbouring profound hatred for Colonel Gadhafi's regime.

In 1969 Colonel Gadhafi led a popular military coup deposing the British-backed King Idris who had ruled the country since independence in 1952. It was the end of an era during which imperialist multinationals plundered Libya's oil wealth in return for guaran-

teeing privileges for a tiny ruling class while the Libyan masses lived in abject poverty. One of Colonel Gadhafi's first actions was to throw out the US Wheelus Air Force Base in 1970, the second largest US overseas base after Clarke Base in the Philippines. In addition to this blow to imperialist military interests in the region, Colonel Gadhafi nationalised the oil industry and implemented a range of social and economic reforms substantially improving the masses' living standards. Housing, health and education are free in Libya. In the words of a British diplomat he 'looked after his own people rather well'.

Representing a nationalist trend within the Libyan army and petit-bourgeoisie, and in large part due to the country's oil wealth, the new regime was able to establish a position relatively independent of imperialism and with significant popular support. It also extended solidarity and help to the Palestinian liberation movement and others in the Arab world, Africa and internationally. When the US cut off aid to Nicaragua, Libya provided £100m to the Sandinista government. It developed close economic and military ties with the Soviet Union and acquired the advanced weaponry to defend itself against imperialist attack. Whilst not a socialist state, the Libyan regime has maintained a strong nationalist and anti-imperialist line opposing US and Zionist schemes for the region. Colonel Gadhafi's calls for Arab unity, in an area overwhelmed by poverty and oppression, is a significant counter-weight to the pliant, pro-imperialist regimes in the Middle East.

It is for these reasons, and not on account of the civilian dead in Rome and Vienna, that Reagan has mounted his latest offensive. Reagan, whose history will be written as one of murder and butchery on a mass scale in defence of imperialist capital and profits, impresses only reactionaries and fools with his pious and hypocritical sermons about terrorism. He applauded the Israeli bombing of PLO headquarters in Tunisia which left 70 dead. He sanctioned the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon which left 20,000 dead. The catalogue of Zionist barbarity against the Palestinian and Arab people is only made possible by the enormous financial and political support extended by the US and President Reagan in particular.

For the moment, despite Reagan's warmongering bark, the US has refrained from military intervention judging the political and military risks too high. Libya is not tiny Grenada. Armed with Soviet weaponry it would have given a good account of itself against the



The US tools up for the attack on Libya

'mighty USA'. More seriously, a military attack would have sparked uncontrollable mass movements by the poor and oppressed in the Arab world threatening to bring down pro-imperialist governments in Egypt and Jordan.

His military ambitions frustrated, Reagan got no satisfaction from the economic sanctions which followed. Only 2% of Libyan imports come from the USA. Having frozen Libyan assets in the US worth a mere \$4m, Reagan left himself open to retaliation against the \$446m US investments in Libya. Sanctions would only have succeeded in damaging Libya if European imperialism had joined in. This they refused to do. Europe was not prepared to sacrifice \$13bn in contracts held by over 200 firms. One after another Italy, Britain, West Germany, Switzerland, Ireland, Portugal and Spain declined to join the USA. The interests of national capital and profit superseded any sentiment of imperialist solidarity. In addition, as

Chancellor Kohl put it, to have imposed sanctions on Libya after refusing to do so against South Africa would have been embarrassing!

Temporarily, Reagan's offensive has spluttered to a lame halt. But other opportunities will be sought, and meanwhile the US Mediterranean armed forces are ready for action. It would be an act of criminal chauvinism if socialists in Britain failed to oppose imperialism's attacks on Libya on the spurious grounds that Colonel Gadhafi is not a socialist. A confrontation between Libya and imperialism objectively represents the conflict between the oppressed Arab masses and their exploiters. If the Libyan regime falls, the reviving Palestinian revolutionary movement in 'Israel' and the occupied territories will be encircled by an unbroken chain of Zionism and Arab reaction. And the Libyan people themselves will once again be burdened by imperialist oppression and their struggle for total liberation set back.

Undeclared Palestine faces up to Zionist repression

The Palestinian liberation movement, since Israel's bloody invasion of Lebanon in 1982, has experienced seemingly insurmountable crises. Forced to abandon its last independent stronghold in the Arab world, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was thrown into disarray and has split. The US and 'Israeli' governments, together with King Hussein of Jordan and President Assad of Syria, have since been working to marginalise, isolate and destroy the movement. Dead and buried, this vanguard of the exploited and oppressed in the Middle East would, they hoped, cease to disturb the peace of the imperialist, Zionist and Arab ruling classes. Yet for all this, the resistance is not vanquished.

Where Zionism fears the most dangerous challenge to its existence – the occupied territories of 'Israel', the West Bank and Gaza Strip – forces capable of placing the resistance on a firmer basis are returning to battle. They represent the vast majority of 2 million Palestinians under Israeli rule, who have been robbed of their land, impoverished and denied all democratic rights. Unlike the small wealthy Palestinian bourgeoisie, they have no choice but to fight back.

'The Israelis are taking everything, so whatever we do now we've nothing to lose.' These are the voices of Palestinian youth, the under 25s who constitute 70% of the West Bank and Gaza population. They are, in the words of the Israeli military, 'a new generation of radical Palestinians', who are committed to the destruction of Zionism.

The occupied territories

This generation has learnt since the 1967 Israeli occupation, that Zionism is racism and imperialism intent on turning their homeland into a bantustan to

serve 'Israel's' needs. 60% of the land has been stolen by the occupiers, leaving 700,000 Palestinians as refugees with 300,000 living in camps. The Israelis have built 112 strategically placed armed settlements occupied by 50,000 racist settlers. Systematically, the basis for a Palestinian economy is being destroyed. In an agricultural land requiring intensive water irrigation, Palestinians have been permitted to drill only 2 new wells since 1967. The settlers drilled 17, and while they are only 2% of the population, they consume 30% of the West Bank's water. Palestinian farmers pay 15% VAT on their crops which are often confiscated while subsidised Israeli goods flood the West Bank and Gaza.

Thrown off the land, Palestinian unemployment on the West Bank and Gaza Strip is 35%. 100-150,000 are forced daily to commute to 'Israel' in search of work in the local 'slave markets'. Paying taxes on meagre wages, they are denied benefits and have no right to live in 'Israel'.

With 25% of all Israeli exports going to the West Bank and Gaza, with \$2m in-

vested there (excluding military-security investments) and with plans for further land expropriations to settle up to 1m Zionists, Zionism will not voluntarily relinquish these territories.

The resistance

The popular resistance, set back after 1982, is today re-emerging. Stoning and petrol bombing of Zionist targets are daily occurrences. Religious ceremonies such as last year's celebrations of the birth of Mohammed, are transformed into nationalist demonstrations. Strikes by workers, students and shop-keepers are increasing in frequency. Prison struggles are combined with popular protests outside led by the women.

Most worrying for the Zionists is the revival of the armed struggle, with the guerrillas obtaining, according to Israeli military sources, 'large quantities of arms... stolen from Israeli arsenals'. Targets range from Zionist settlers, to military personnel, vehicles and barracks as well as prisons, police stations and government buildings.

In 1985 there were nearly 50 armed operations in Israel, and 200 in the West Bank and Gaza. While many are carried out by individual groups, the majority are executed by the organised liberation movement. The left-wing Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed 8 actions in December 1985, including an attack which burnt down an Israeli barracks near Nablus, killing 8 soldiers.

The revolutionary significance of these developments can be judged by the brutality with which Zionism is trying to

crush it. For the first time since 1980 20 resistance leaders have been deported to Jordan, and 100 detained without charge under 'administrative' regulations. Between September and December 1985 an additional 1,000 people were arrested and 500 convicted for political reasons.

Zionist repression

Regularly Palestinians are beaten and humiliated, forced to kiss donkeys and lower their trousers in public. The Palestinian press is heavily censored and whole areas of the West Bank are frequently sealed off to try to conceal the work of official and unofficial terrorists. In September for example Israeli soldiers allowed Zionist mobs to rampage through Haloul, burning cars and homes and assaulting civilians. On 3 September Israeli soldiers killed 3 people in separate incidents including a 6-year-old boy. In October 1985, when 4 guerrillas were killed, their home villages were placed under curfew and their families' houses demolished.

The collaborators

While repression mounts against the poor, Zionism, encouraged by the US, is attempting to create an alternative collaborationist leadership from among the small Palestinian bourgeoisie. It is being more flexible in approving Palestinian economic projects which do not compete with Israeli industry. It is also preparing to give the local bourgeoisie 'political office' in civilian town councils – appointed by the Zionists. In Nab-

lus where this project is beginning Mr Masri, leader of the Chamber of Commerce, has been appointed mayor and other members of the Chamber are town councillors! The PFLP comments:

'Masri's status as a successful businessman points to the class aspect of the US settlement plan, aiming to co-opt the Palestinian and Arab bourgeoisie to reconcile with Zionism.'

The struggle in the occupied territories is polarising. On the one hand the popular anti-imperialist resistance to defeat Zionism and liberate Palestine; on the other the increasingly compromising and collaborationist role of the wealthy minority preparing to sacrifice liberation in return for privileges from its own class.

The US Administration, 'Israel's' government, the Jordanian, Egyptian and Syrian regimes are doing their utmost to isolate and destroy the popular movement re-emerging in the occupied territories. The much-vaunted US sponsored 'peace process' is but the international diplomatic camouflage for the relentless repression Zionism is pursuing. While the US talks of 'peace', 'compromise' and 'negotiation', it continues to finance Zionist terror and war against the Palestinian people. For their resistance, gaining a firm foothold in the occupied territories, will be a deadly threat to Zionism. It will inspire the oppressed Arab masses throughout the region and shake the entire edifice of imperialist economic, military and political interests in the region and beyond.

Eddie Abrahams

The British state is applying its immigration controls with ever greater ferocity. In 1984 the number of people refused entry rose to 17,355, an increase of 23% over 1983. In 1985 an average of 50 people were deported from Britain every week. In response, numerous anti-deportation campaigns are fighting back up and down the country. They face the Home Office, the police, the courts and the legal system all united against the democratic rights of immigrant workers. However, in their struggle against deportation and immigration controls, black people cannot rely on the Labour Party. In government, the Labour Party has introduced and operated its own vicious controls. While certain Labour MPs, trade unionists and Labour-controlled councils have supported individual anti-deportation campaigns, the Labour Party itself has steadfastly refused to conduct any campaign against immigration controls. Limiting itself to individual cases, the official Labour and trade union movement has turned its back on the fundamental democratic rights of immigrant workers in Britain to live free from the threat of deportation. It could not be otherwise. A glance at Labour's standpoint and record on immigration shows this (see box).

The Labour Party and immigration



When in power the Labour government made a bid to buy off criticism by setting up the race relations industry. Money was available, jobs and research programmes were funded when Harold Wilson's government established the Race Relations Board in 1966. In 1976 the Race Relations Act was passed establishing a central Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and many local Community Relations Councils (CRC). Now a multi-million pound industry, the race relations business, provides a section of the black middle-class with jobs and privileges. Meanwhile, for the mass of black people, inequality, racism and oppression continue to deepen.

Labour's promises

The odds against immigrant workers and their families are at an all-time high. The 1981 Nationality Act which came into force in 1983 extends enormously the scope of immigration controls and allows the state to carry out surveillance of the black community. The Home Office and the Department of Health and Social Security now work together running checks on hundreds of thousands of people using a new computer run by the Immigration Service Intelligence Unit.

What is the response of the Labour Party to the situation which they helped create? In 1982 the Labour Party National Executive Committee issued a programme on immigration for when it returned to power. It committed itself to:

- repeal the 1971 Immigration Act and replace it with a 'non-discriminatory' one.
- prevent the separation of families.
- remove the queue in India.
- restore the right of admission to husbands and fiancées.
- give priority to providing educational opportunity for people of the Third World.
- recognise Britain's responsibility towards refugees
- limit powers under which people can be deported if deemed 'not conducive to the public good'.

- minimise police involvement in immigration controls.
- control powers of detention pending deportation and limit periods of detention.

Set against its record in power, the Labour Party's 1982 programme is hollow and insulting posturing. It contains no commitment to abolish all immigration controls – the very foundation for the continued threat against black workers and their families. It is also exposed by the actual racist practice of the Labour Party today.

At its 1985 Conference, the Labour Party overwhelmingly rejected the right of black people to organise black sections within the party. The Labour Party condemned the youth and communities of Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham, denouncing their 'violence' whilst supporting police and state violence. When Bernie Grant, a black Labour candidate for Haringey expressed support for the youth, the Labour Party leadership rounded on him as viciously as did the Tories and the racist media. The Labour leadership readily expressed condolences for the victims of the Bradford football fire. In contrast, it was not prepared to visit the relatives of Shamira Kassam who was burned to death with her three children in a racist arson attack in East London. In the House of Commons in the summer of 1985, Neil Kinnock refused to put down a three line whip on a vote to secure the right of Tamil refugees to seek political asylum in Britain.

This repellant racism is no accident. The Labour Party leadership will sacrifice all its proclaimed 'socialist principles' in its effort to win the votes of the middle class and privileged sections of the working class. To return to power the Labour Party will sacrifice black people's democratic rights to its electoral considerations.

Labour Party racism – yesterday and today

The racism of the Labour Party today

is not just an expression of the political views of its current leadership. It is the political expression of the interests of a privileged labour aristocracy which was born of the oppression of other nations and peoples.

British capitalism was the trail blazer for imperialism and racism. Long before the rise of competition from European and American capitalism, the British ruling class butchered its way around Asia, Africa and South America. Its worldwide carnage and systematic exploitation of other nations is the basis of British imperialist racism. A racist ideology was developed in order to justify the barbaric treatment of oppressed peoples. It was immediately embraced by the British labour movement.

From its earliest days, the Labour Party adopted a shamelessly racist position on immigration. During the 1914-1918 imperialist war, the trade unions pledged their loyalty to British imperialism with forthright racist proclamations. A 1917 TUC policy statement presented by W Mosses of the Federation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Trades raised no objection to immigration by whites to help rebuild the British economy – provided union rates were paid. But for blacks he added:

'... I draw the line at the yellow man or the black man... who work for next to nothing, and who bring into this country conditions which are detrimental to the morality and traditions of the country.'

This racism was supported by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Carpenters and Joiners, and Ernest Bevin of the Dockers Union. In the same year the annual conferences of the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party took similar positions.

These were the people and these the ideas that were to form future Labour governments – administrations that allowed the 'Whites Only' Australian immigration policy of 1930, and which ignored continuous lobbying by Anti-Slavery Societies against a variety of Master/Servant Acts widespread in

British colonies. Such Acts punished 'crimes' like 'insolence' by 'natives' with whipping and imprisonment.

The evolution, growth and 'success' of the British Labour and trade union movement has been closely linked to the strength of British imperialism. Superprofits extracted from the exploitation of oppressed nations have enabled the British ruling class to create a racist layer within the British working class – the labour aristocracy. From the birth of the British Empire, the racist British labour movement considered this Empire as available for use by the British working class. Not only to finance social benefits at home, but also for emigration to alleviate unemployment in times of recession. In 1925 the Labour Party proposed the 'scientific distribution of population within the British commonwealth'. This meant emigration with government aid, tax concessions and land stolen from the oppressed for white settlers in the colonies. As late as 1951, the Labour Party supported the emigration of 500,000 Europeans to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

The Labour Party and the traditions of Communist Internationalism

The actions and programme of the Labour Party are directly opposed to the tradition of communist internationalism established at the start of the 20th Century. It was at the International Socialist Conference at Stuttgart in 1907 that the socialist position on immigration and immigrant workers was first laid down. It established positions which then and now represent the revolutionary standpoint and are summed up in the demand NO IMMIGRATION CONTROLS – NO DEPORTATIONS.

The Stuttgart Conference recognised that the colonies and oppressed nations functioned as a massive pool of cheap labour which the imperialist countries called on to oil the wheels of capitalism:

'The major reason for these migrations is the insatiable greed of capitalism for profit. The desire to introduce badly paid workers is therefore in the very nature of capitalism, as is exploitation and all the other economic and social consequences of capitalism.'

Lenin, reporting on the Conference, summed up the debate on immigration:

'On the question of emigration and immigration, a clear difference of opinion arose between the opportunists and the revolutionaries in the Commission of the Stuttgart Conference. The opportunists cherished the idea of limiting the right of migration of backward, undeveloped workers especially the Japanese and the Chinese... The congress rejected everything that smacked of this spirit...'

This stand was opposed by the opportunists. An Australian delegate claimed that 'Australian workers must protect themselves against Asian workers in the interests of socialism'. A speaker from the USA stated that 'the Chinese are far

too backward in their development to be capable of being organised'. The opportunists argued that immigration controls were necessary to defend the working class, its organisation and conditions. How familiar these chauvinist, racist arguments are! And they come not only from the Labour Party but from its 'left' wing and from the so-called Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). When the issue of immigration controls was a major debate in the late 70s, *Tribune*, a left-Labour weekly wrote:

'Socialists who see the need for economic and social planning cannot be expected to argue for free movement of labour in a capitalist international economy, and be condemned as racists if they refuse to do so.'

At the time, the CPGB repeated similar arguments against the demand for no immigration controls:

'All of us on the left understand that unemployment and worsening social services result from the economic crisis of British capitalism. However, the 'no immigration controls' position puts forward a demand which can easily create the impression that the left are oblivious to these problems.'

Today the position remains the same. Both wings of the CPGB – *Morning Star* and *7 Days* – claim adherence to the 1978 party programme. 'The British Road to Socialism'. This opportunist document, like Labour's 1982 programme, demands only the repeal of the 1971 Immigration Act. Nothing more is said about the Acts introduced by the Labour Party itself.

Those who are fighting deportations today have no cause to rely on the Labour Party. Whilst working with any Labour Party MP or organisation willing to help in these struggles, the key to victory against all immigration controls is unity with those forces who today are emerging to oppose British imperialism and its opportunist defenders.

Eddie Abrahams and Susan Davidson

The record of the Labour Party – 1964-1979

● In the 1964 General Election the Labour Party campaigned to scrap the 1962 Tory Commonwealth Immigration Act. In government, it introduced the 1965 White Paper on Immigration 'to control the entry of immigrants so that it does not outrun Britain's capacity to absorb them'; stopped unskilled workers coming to Britain; introduced stricter 'eligibility' tests for dependents; and gave the Home Secretary powers to deport black people without a court ruling.

● In 1968, the Labour Party introduced its own Commonwealth Immigration Act permitting entry only if immigrants had a 'substantial connection' in Britain – ie at least one grandparent. It started the voucher system for East African UK passport holders resulting in thousands of them being excluded.

● In 1974-1975 the Labour government refused refugee status to Cypriots fleeing the civil war. Rhodesian draft-evaders, who refused to fight for racist Ian Smith, were denied entry in 1976-1977.

● In 1975, 1976, 1977 and 1978, the Labour government used the 1971 Tory Immigration Act to conduct police raids on black people's homes and workplaces, looking for 'illegal immigrants'.

● In 1977 the Labour government changed the immigration rules so that a 12 month probation was placed on the marriages of immigrant husbands and many were placed under state scrutiny as possible 'marriages of convenience'.

● The 1981 Nationality Act passed by the Tories was based on the Labour Party's 1977 Green Paper which reinforced the notion of patrilineity (ie one grandparent born in Britain) as a condition for entry into Britain. Henceforth 'non-patrials' – primarily black people – would be denied all rights.

● In 1978, under a Labour government, an average of 220 people were held in prison each day under Immigration Act powers and the length of detention increased.

POLITICS OF PROFIT

BARRY LEWIS/NETWORK



Equipment lies around in a closed hospital, waiting to be sold

'...is there any substitute for the entrepreneur, from the one-man businessman to the tycoon? Someone has to create the wealth. State enterprise has yet to do so. Until now, it has lived off the surplus created by the private sector. But as the state sector grows — and a new subsidised private sector with it, designed to perpetuate occupational population patterns inherited from the industrial revolution — the private sector is in danger of collapsing under the burden.' (Sir Keith Joseph in April 1975, then leading adviser on Tory Party policy)

The end of the post-war boom forced the ruling class to reassess its economic strategy. By the mid-1970s it became clear that the rapid growth of state expenditure and the expansion of credit were insufficient to offset the relative stagnation of accumulation in the private sector. The rate of profit was too low. Any further expansion of credit and growth of state expenditure would simply lead to a rapid acceleration of inflation. Unemployment and inflation were already increasing together. The rate of profit had to be restored and the Tory Party, smarting from its defeat at the hands of the miners in 1974 and at the General Election, began preparing the way ideologically and politically for an onslaught on working class living standards when it returned to power.

A ruling class in decay, devoid of any serious understanding of the workings of the capitalist economy, is forced to turn to its great warriors of yesterday to search for ideological weapons as the class struggle intensifies. The Tory Party, returning to classical political economy, dug up and suitably adapted Adam Smith's (1723-1790) distinction between productive and unproductive labour in order to launch a ferocious attack on what it called the 'unproductive', wealth-consuming state sector. 'Wealth' according to Keith Joseph, writing in the *New Statesman* on 18 April 1975, is created by the private sector led by that 'rare type of person' the entrepreneur. The state sector, he argued, is parasitic on the surplus produced by the private sector and he doubted whether the state sector could ever become 'wealth creating' instead of 'wealth consuming'.

The media warmed to the theme. In June 1975 the *Sunday Times* commissioned and later published in November 1975 three 6,000-word articles by two academics, Bacon and Eltis, on the issue. The popular press immediately took it up. The *Daily Mirror* on 13 November 1975 in a five inch banner headlined article 'Too many mouths, too few hands...', attacked the public sector and said 'we have to get back to producing wealth instead of spending it'. By 4 January 1976 the *Sunday Times* in a leader 'Brontosaurus Britannicus' called for a slimming of the non-market sector (the vast proportion of the state sector): 'the non-market sector must be progressively starved, at least until wage and salary earners are prepared to renounce part of the money wage for the social wage'. The social wage was yet another ideological term conjured up by the ruling class to back its argument that high wages were the cause of inflation and low profits. The social wage was said to include services provided by the state sector—health, education and various other state benefits.

By the late seventies the broad ideological thrust of Tory economic policy had been worked out. 'Monetarism' came into its own. Attacking inflation through a tight monetary policy was to be the cover for a rapid increase of unemployment, an attack on working class living standards and for cutting back state expenditure. The aim was to restore the rate of profit on private capital by massively transferring wealth back to the private sector. The end product was said to be the creation of a vital, employment-producing, wealth-producing, highly-profitable private sector. In 1979 the Tory Party was

Planning for our poverty

In a Politics of Profit special, David Reed analyses the new Tory government White Paper on public expenditure

returned to power. The theory was put into practice.

In an earlier article in this column 'The Political Economy of Thatcherism' I showed how the transfer of wealth to the private sector has not provided the large scale capital investment necessary to rebuild Britain's manufacturing base. In fact a large proportion of the extra capital, attracted by higher rates of profit, has been invested overseas (see FRFI 53). In this article I will examine the other side of the government's strategy, its record on state expenditure and its future plans.

Plans for future government expenditure

On 15 January 1986 the government published a White Paper on its expenditure plans for 1986/7 to 1988/9. It also contained a detailed summary of its record since returning to office. The most revealing statistic is that the government, far from cutting state expenditure overall, has increased it in real terms by 10.4% between 1979 and 1985. If the proceeds of privatisation, which the government arbitrarily treats as negative public expenditure, are ignored and gross debt interest is included then the increase is more than 13%.

Public Expenditure
(£m base year 1984/5)

	Planning Total	Excluding privatisation proceeds, interest including debt
1978/9	117,401	130,657
1984/5	129,838	147,999
1985/6*	127,812	147,452
1986/7*	126,735	148,429

This financial year 1985/6 the government expects its real expenditure to fall by some 1.4% and continue to fall in 1986/7 before levelling out in later years. But again if we exclude privatisation proceeds and include debt interest, expenditure in 1985/6 is almost the same as 1984/5 and that for 1986/7 will increase by 0.7% on 1985/6.

It is also the case that the government's spending targets have been regularly overshoot as the table below shows. So it seems unlikely that the Tories under Thatcher will manage overall to cut state spending.

Public expenditure plans and * outturns

	1980-1	1982-3	1983-4	1984-5
Mar 1980 White Paper	91.2	106.3	112.4	
Feb 1983 White Paper	*92.7	*113.0	119.6	126.5
Jan 1986 White Paper	*92.6	*113.3	*120.3	*134.2

When the government took office public expenditure (including debt interest) was 43% of the gross domestic product. It reached a peak of 46½% in 1982/3 and fell to 45% in 1984/5, well above the level inherited in 1979. The government hopes that it will fall back to that level in 1987.

Why is it that a government committed to slashing state expenditure has not managed to cut it back? And how is it that in spite of the increase of government expenditure the basic welfare services are being reduced to unacceptable levels with further cutbacks planned over the next few years?

Problems of cutting state expenditure

Social expenditure on health, education, pensions, unemployment and social security benefits were all part of the price of tying the organisations of the working class to the machinery of the capitalist state in the post war period. They were also necessary to prevent the social and political instability that could threaten the control which the existing opportunist leadership of the Labour Party and trade unions has over the working class. While profit rates are high, state expenditure provides a stimulus for private capital accumulation. But as the rate of profit falls and investment in the private sector slows down, the

state's intervention becomes more and more necessary to prevent unemployment rising above politically acceptable levels. Today official unemployment has reached 3,273,089 with real levels at more than 4 million. Even though what is politically acceptable to the official labour movement has proved very flexible, the Thatcher government knows that drastic curbs on the growth of state spending could seriously threaten social stability. After all, since she has been Prime Minister major uprisings have occurred in British inner cities in 1981 and 1985 and the most concerted threat to her government and the traditional labour movement leadership came from the year-long miners' strike of 1984/5.

The four largest departmental shares, DHSS (Social Security), Defence, DHSS (health and personal social services) and Education and Science, account for two-thirds of the government's total spending plans. Social Security accounts for 30.7% of public expenditure (excluding debt interest). It increased by 34% in real terms between 1978/9 and 1985/6. It is planned to increase further to reach over 32% of public spending in 1988/9. And this is based on the optimistic assumption of 3 million unemployed. About half of the social security budget goes on payments to old people (pensions etc). The real value of the state pension has increased by 5% since November 1978 and over the same period the numbers of people receiving pensions

The Tory government has also increased state spending in line with its own priorities. It found funds to defeat the miners' strike — officially assessed at £2.5bn in 1984/5 and £1bn in 1985/6. It dramatically increased spending to defend its imperialist interests by conducting a war and setting up a new garrison in the Malvinas/Falklands. Defence spending is 13.6 per cent of public expenditure — the second largest department after Social Security. Between 1978/9 and 1985/6 it increased by a massive 30 per cent in real terms. There are plans to reduce this expenditure by about 7 per cent in real terms over the next three years. We shall see. It very much depends on developments in the war in Ireland, the political situation in Southern Africa and anywhere else where British imperialist interests are threatened.

Increased spending on the forces of repression

The Tory government is fully aware that its economic policies will create social unrest. That is why spending on the Home Office and Lord Chancellor's Department — 75% of expenditure is concerned with police, courts and prisons — has increased by a staggering 41% between 1978/9 and 1985/6 in real terms. About 70% of Home Office expenditure is incurred by local authorities, mainly on the police. Expenditure on the police increased by 66.4% between 1978/9 and 1985/6 in cash terms, on prisons by 62% and on courts, legal aid etc by 82%. The government is planning to reduce slightly this department's expenditure in real terms over the next three years (by 3.7%). Having already agreed to increase police manpower by 1,000, and with Kenneth Newman demanding 4,000 extra police in the Metropolitan area, this seems unlikely. Given that there has already been a rise in the prison population from 43,000 in 1984/5 to 48,000 in the current financial year, the government's planning total of 47,500 prisoners in 1986/7 rising to 50,000 in 1988/9 is clearly an underestimate. So, further increased spending on prisons is a certainty. As political and social unrest inevitably grows as a direct result of Tory economic policy, there can be little doubt that Home Office expenditure on the forces of repression will be a major growth area.

DHSS expenditure on health and personal social services has risen by 20% in real terms from 1978/9 to 1985/6. Small increases are planned for the next few years. But once it is recognised that this expenditure must grow by at least 1.5% a year to cope with the growing numbers of elderly people and with modern technology the increased expenditure will be seen to be quite inadequate. It also does not allow for pay increases for doctors, nurses and ancillary staff above the rate of inflation. Personal social services largely provided by local authorities like meals on wheels, home helps for the sick etc, are planned to be cut in real terms by 0.2% in 1986/7 and by 3 per cent in the next two years. They also need to grow by about 1.5% in real terms to stand still.

Spending on education and science fell by 1 per cent in real terms between 1978/9 and 1985/6. Cuts of 10 per cent in real terms are expected by 1988/9. But even these figures make assumptions about teachers' pay which are clearly too low and far from being resolved. A comparison of public sector pay compared with average pay changes clearly shows the government's priorities. Nurses received pay awards of 9.6 per cent below the average between 1981/2 and 1984/5, teachers 6.4 per cent below, council manual workers 14 per cent below, NHS ancillaries 15.1 per cent below, whereas the police received 7.2 per cent above.

The government has not been able to force through its declared programme to massively reduce state expenditure. However an examination of its record and future plans has shown that, in spite of the growth of state spending, the government is doing no more than planning for our poverty. And should we protest, let alone rebel, it has made contingency plans. One of the fastest growth areas of public expenditure is on the forces of repression to put us down.

David Reed

Yemeni war is British legacy

Within two weeks of war in the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen following the split in the ruling Socialist Party, over 10,000 people are reported dead, large areas of its capital, Aden, are in ruins and most foreign residents – British, Soviet, French – have been evacuated.

The political issues behind the split which have led to this tragic war are still unclear. President Ali Nasser Moham-mad, target of the coup attempt, has introduced agricultural reforms increasing the rights of private land holders and slowing the pace of collectivisation. In foreign policy he has attempted to improve relations with Saudi Arabia and Oman. The rumoured coup leader, Abdul Fattah Ismail, is alleged to be strongly opposed to these moves. Whatever the real character and significance of these differences, as the Democratic Yemen's embassy in London said: 'The situation exploded for purely internal reasons' which 'go back to the heritage of social backwardness.'

This heritage is none other than that of British imperialism which occupied



the country in 1839 as a military and commercial staging post for British sea routes to East Africa, India and other British colonies in Asia. The Yemeni people were subjected to the violence of British imperialism. They fought hard and long for their independence until 1967 when the left wing forces of the National Liberation Front threw out the British armed forces directed then by a Labour government (see FRFI 43 – Repression and Torture: The British Labour Party and the Liberation struggle in South Yemen).

The socialist government which subsequently came to power immediately began to tackle the problems left by colonial rule. It nationalised the banks and industries, expropriated large landlords and distributed the land to the poor peasants. It built a public health service and vastly expanded the availability of education. In the Middle East, it immediately declared its support for the Palestinian revolution.

Ever since, the Yemeni people have never been free of imperialist subterfuge and subversion. A £60m aid package promised by the Labour government never materialised. Instead the Labour government sponsored armed attacks against the newly-named Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen. MI6 has been involved in a number of covert operations against it which were exposed in 1982. Neighbouring Saudi Arabia and Oman have been used by the British army in efforts to undermine the revolutionary state. In particular Oman, which houses the biggest British military presence in the Middle East, has been a base for counter-revolution.

It is only in this context that the reported differences within the ruling Socialist Party have led to war. Whatever the real issues, the principal concern of socialists in Britain is to prevent a gleeful British imperialism from turning to recover its lost positions in the Peoples Republic of Yemen, where Aden is 'the best harbour between Suez and India'.



Aquino leads opposition demonstration

Tide turning against Marcos

The 7 February presidential elections are an extraordinary event in recent Philippines' history. There have been six major electoral exercises since Marcos took power in 1965; two each for the presidency, constitutional changes and the national assembly (parliament). What makes this election extraordinary is an open and genuine political opposition. This, more than the outcome, which Marcos is likely to secure with fraudulent counts, vote buying, tampered ballot boxes and the customary violence, is what is new and significant.

Corazon Aquino's campaign, in alliance with Salvador Laurel, has drawn crowds of 90,000 to 150,000 people out onto the streets across the Philippines. Her message is always the same: remove the corruption that is Marcos' rule. It has tapped the outrage that has swollen in the Filipino people since her husband Benigno was gunned down at Manila airport in August 1983. All of Marcos' other elections were largely window-dressing for foreign consumption. This election whether he wins or loses was destined from the start to tear away any remaining shreds of Marcos' credibility.

The election itself was forced upon Marcos by the US government responding to the gathering economic crisis combining with the growing power of the National Democratic Front and New Peoples' Army to generate a potentially revolutionary situation. US imperialism seeks out of the elections a credible pro-US successor to Marcos. It also wishes to draw disenchantment with Marcos away from the NDF. Aquino has the backing of significant sections of the business community outside of Marcos' ring of 'cronies' and the head of the Roman Catholic church, Cardinal Sin, has effectively given her his support by denouncing poll rigging. Responding to such allies Aquino has remained true to her landowning origins and repeatedly stated that she would not allow communists into her government. The US imperialists must hope that even

if Aquino does not win she will have galvanised sufficient support to form a pro-US successor to Marcos when he dies or retires.

In these circumstances the NDF, which has the support of 10 million of the Philippines 54 million people, has called for a boycott of the elections, on the grounds that they would yield nothing substantial for the people. However, the NDF recognises that the elections are a unique experience in the Filipino people's struggle to remove the US-Marcos dictatorship. An experience that will teach them more about the futility of relying on electoral politics to gain social change than any of the preceding elections. These lessons will be learnt by sections of the people not yet drawn into the ranks of the NDF and NPA, whose national democratic programme depends upon a successful strategy of armed struggle and popular uprising. Consequently, the armed partisan units of the NPA have not intervened to stop the campaigning.

US imperialism must fear the prediction made by the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in October last year, 'a blatantly corrupt election next year could ignite an explosion of public resentment that could in turn further stimulate the growth of the NPA while accelerating the general breakdown in civil order'.

Trevor Rayne

USA and France backed Burkina-Faso assault

On 4 August 1983 the progressive officers of the National Revolutionary Council (CNR) seized state power in Upper Volta and began a popular national democratic revolution. The former French West African colony was renamed Burkina-Faso, the land of dignity. President Thomas Sankara's new government confronted a terrible neo-colonial legacy: school provision for only 16 per cent of the children, 92 per cent of the country's 7 million people illiterate, almost no modern medicines in the rural areas where 90 per cent of the population live, and the menacing scourge of hunger.

Uganda on the rack

As we go to press, reports indicate that the Ugandan capital Kampala has fallen to the forces of the National Resistance Movement. Political turmoil seems set to continue with news that deposed General Tito Okello plans to form a counter government. The following article, written for FRFI by representatives of the UNLF(A-D) explains the political issues involved and shows the path for the oppressed workers and peasants of Uganda.

The much-heralded 'Peace Accord' signed in Nairobi, Kenya, between General Tito Okello's Military Council (MC) and Y Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM) has broken down. Fighting has continued unabated. What has gone wrong? What is the popular response to the ongoing civil war?

The Uganda National Liberation Front (Anti-Dictatorship), UNLF(A-D) had warned even before the Nairobi talks began that any militarist approach to the Uganda crisis would constitute a false start. Having overthrown A M Obote's puppet regime, the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) of Gen Tito Okello constituted itself into a ruling Junta and succeeded to coopt the four political parties and four smaller armed groups around itself. The UNLF(A-D) completely rejected the Junta's offer to incorporate it into the new dictatorial machinery. It called for a Round Table Conference of all democratic organisations on the basis of equality on neutral territory to agree to a Common Democratic Programme leading to free and fair elections and based on all-round and deep-going economic, political and social measures. The militarists were not interested.

The National Resistance Movement and its Army rejected the UNLF(A-D)'s principled and democratic proposals, too. Instead it demanded bilateral negotiations to share power with the UNLA on equal terms. The Junta seized on this and on 26 August 1985 talks began under the chairmanship of Kenyan President, Daniel arap Moi. Under pressure from Ugandans, and from those foreign powers that fear the growing popular struggle, the two parties were forced into the Agreement of militarist power-sharing.

Those who had thought that peace would come from Nairobi were rudely awakened when they read the text of the Accord. An expanded military regime is to be installed, not a civilian government. The so-called cease-fire has never even started. Some foreign backers of the Accord grew cold feet. The power-sharing minimises some and totally ignores others. An amorphous 'National Conference' is called for in the form of a talking-shop 'as soon as practicable' as is the case for elections, which Okello had promised to hold 'within twelve months.' The soldiers of the MC coalition, on their part, began looting and terrorising the population throughout the country to grab property, in case they were to be excluded from the proposed 8,000-man Army. Moreover, ex-servicemen under Idi Amin, who were to be 'punished immediately', ran amok and retreated to their areas armed to begin a new civil war.

All these explain the reign of terror unleashed in Lango, eastern Uganda, in Kampala and adjoining areas and even in Acholi.

Behind the slogans of 'agricultural development' and 'self-sufficiency in food' the people have begun to build. This has not pleased the imperialist powers. In March last year US Vice-President Bush visited neighbouring Mali.

Around the same time French Defence Minister Hemu paid two visits to the same country. Arms supplies to Mali were stepped up. Mali harbours counter-revolutionaries exiled from Burkina-Faso. On 25 December the Malian regime launched a full scale four day invasion of Burkina-Faso with the help of mercenaries. Territory was seized, towns and villages bombed, civilians killed and grain depots pinpointed for attack.

It is obvious that without massive weapons from foreign sources, the continuing civil war would long have ended. On the one hand, the Kampala Junta which is virtually bankrupt is able to acquire weapons from Egypt and various western countries. On the other hand, the NRM is suddenly able to use Lonrho's Executive Jet, receive supplies through mysterious aeroplanes landing in south-western Uganda, and maintain numerous personnel in expensive Hotel suites. At the same time both sides bitterly accuse the 'foreign hand' on the other side! Who is paying or going to pay in future for Uganda's mortgaged resources? It will obviously be the mass of Uganda's peasants, workers and other labouring population. It is commonly known that among the negotiators on both sides in Nairobi were British and American comprador agents. And to further complicate the picture are mutual allegations that Libya is supplying her supporters on both sides.

Both the NRM/NRA and the MC coalition intended to buy time while preparing for all-out war. Massive recruitment (mainly of lumpen elements produced by the destruction of the Ugandan economy over the years), and frantic shopping for arms from abroad intensified. Around 16 January, 1986 the NRA launched a major offensive towards Kampala. As we go to press, anything can happen. Those neighbouring countries who failed to see the UNLF(A-D) call for a democratic solution through Round Table Conference must now reflect again.

The intensification of hostilities was to be expected. Those who had illusions must now face the facts. The people of Uganda in fact responded to brutalisation in two concrete ways. First, they have begun a movement of local self-defence committees ('gogolimbo') to struggle against warlord activities and all criminals. Secondly, they have initiated a broad-based peace movement based on the demand that the militarist forces be disarmed and a democratic peace achieved through a comprehensive solution via a Round Table Conference. Significantly women, who have borne the brunt of suffering, are spearheading this.

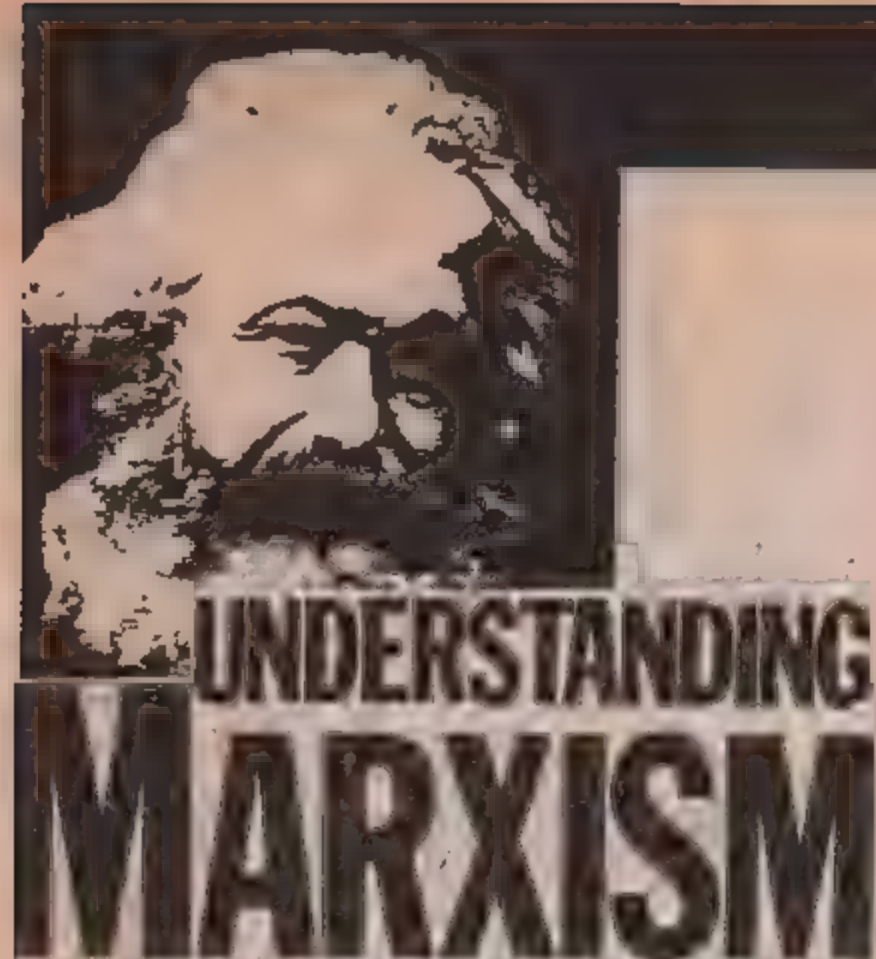
Wherever possible – in villages, towns and abroad – the UNLF(A-D) promotes, encourages and assists the development and strengthening of these popular initiatives. Moreover where the regime is weak, the germs of people's power are emerging through the election of local people's committees. The UNLF(A-D) believes that, in the final analysis, only through a nation-wide mass initiative will a final and lasting solution be achieved to Uganda's perennial crisis and to the cancer of militarism. It will take some time... But it shall be done. The Popular Forces will emerge victorious.

London
22 January 1986

The Western capitalist press have presented the invasion as a repeat of the 1974 border conflict between the two countries. This calculated lie was dismissed by Burkina's UN ambassador at a solidarity rally in New York, 'The Malian authorities are just the puppets. They know what they are doing. They are trying to allow the imperialists to come and overthrow our revolution'.

At the time of writing a cease-fire between Mali and Burkina-Faso remains intact, with the Libyan government assisting in the negotiations. Mali's invasion forces agreed to withdraw from all of Burkina's territory; not such a big concession as they had already been expelled from most of it!

Mike Webber



Marx's critique of political economy

1. Value

If the capitalist system of production could ensure continual expansion and full employment, guaranteeing a reasonable standard of living for everyone, then the objective argument for communism would break down. It was Marx's great contribution to the communist movement to demonstrate that capitalism could not achieve this. On the contrary it was precisely because the capitalist system could never satisfy the basic needs of the vast majority of humanity that it would be superseded by communism.

Marx's *Capital* has as its ultimate aim 'to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society', that is capitalist society. It examines a given and historically limited form of the social relations of production — investigates its beginning, development and inevitable decline. In this way, Marx demonstrates the necessity of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society wholly from the economic laws of development of capitalist society.

The wealth of capitalist society presents itself as 'an immense accumulation of commodities'. Marx therefore begins his analysis with an examination of the commodity.

What is a commodity? In the first instance it is something that satisfies a human want — it is an object of use or *use-value*. In the second instance it is something that can be exchanged for another thing, an *exchange-value*. Exchange-value, at first sight, is a quantitative relation, the proportion in which values in use of one sort are exchanged for those of another sort. It is a relation which constantly changes with time and place. So what is it that is common to all these commodities and which allows them to be equated with each other in the process of exchange? Their common feature is that they are *products of labour*.

However, in exchanging products we equate very different kinds of labour. So what is common to all commodities cannot be the concrete labour of producing one kind of commodity or another. What they have in common is that they are the product of abstract human labour — human labour in general.

'Along with the useful qualities of the products themselves, we put out of sight both the useful character of the various kinds of labour embodied in them, and the concrete forms of that labour; there is nothing left but what is common to them all; all are reduced to one and the same sort of labour, human labour in the abstract.' (*Capital* Vol 1, Chapter 1).

The substance common to all commodities is that they are *values* — the product of abstract human labour.

The magnitude of this value is measured by the quantity of the value-creating substance, the labour contained in the commodity; that is, by its duration, labour-time. Now the total labour-power of society, which is contained in the sum total of the values of all commodities produced, is one homogeneous mass of human labour power. Each particular commodity represents a certain share of the *socially necessary* labour-time. So the magnitude of the value of a commodity is measured by the labour-time socially necessary to produce it under normal conditions of production, with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time.

A commodity is both a *use-value* and *value*. In that is contained the seeds of a *contradictory* development. For an increase in the quantity of use-values is an increase in material wealth. Two coats will clothe two people, one coat only one person. Nevertheless an increased quantity of material wealth may correspond to a simultaneous fall in the magnitude of its value due to an increased productivity of labour. This antagonistic movement has its origins in the two-fold character of labour under the capitalist system of production.

David Reed

INSIDE NEWS



JOHN BOWDEN IN CAGE-LIKE CELL

John Bowden has been ghosted 5 times since October, from Wakefield to Durham, to Liverpool, to Wakefield and now Manchester, and, as he says in his most recent letter this '...has caused severe disruption, and in some cases a complete termination of my already delicate contact with the outside world.' Readers will remember how John was involved in a protest in F wing Wakefield on 19 September last year, when, together with other prisoners in solitary he smashed up the wing. Since then John has had his mail, including copies of *FRFI*, disrupted and not passed onto him. Two weeks before Xmas he was '...moved back to Wakefield and placed in a cage-like cell in the punishment block' and told he 'would remain confined to the cage for an indefinite period of time, or at least until the administration were "satisfied"' with his attitude and behaviour.

John immediately began a non-cooperation protest resulting in a further move to Manchester. He is now awaiting a BOV disciplinary hearing to deal with charges from Wakefield and additional charges of 'causing a disturbance' and 'inciting' other prisoners to do the same during his second stay at Wakefield. Needless to say, John is still in solitary confinement (as he has been for the last 3 years) and we urge all readers to send cards and letters to him at Manchester. He says 'I rather think that this coming year will be a time of intensified and protracted struggle'. Comrades at *FRFI* all send John solidarity in that struggle and salute his courage and will continue to give support to him and all prisoners fighting back against the brutal British prison system.

John Bowden (B41173) HMP Southall Street, Manchester, M60 9AH

DEATH IN RISLEY

On Friday 10 January, Ruth Dyson aged 25 from Gwynedd, died in Risley remand centre. Two days before her death, she had told her husband that the prison was refusing to give her medicine that she needed and that had been prescribed for serious illnesses, namely thyroid problems and Hodgkins Disease. Her husband, family and the organisation Women In Prison are demanding an inquiry into her death and Inquest are organising for an independent post mortem examination to be carried out.

DISABLED MAN IMPRISONED

A campaign, launched by the Derbyshire Coalition of Disabled People (DCDP) is underway for the release of a deaf mute, Glen Pearson, who was gaoled for allegedly stealing £5 and 2 light bulbs. Glen was first sent to Lincoln prison when a jury decided he was 'unfit to plead' to a charge of burglary. He is now in a local hospital waiting to be sent to a secure unit in Preston. It is hoped that Glen, who can only communicate with his parents, will appeal against the decision to commit him to hospital at a tribunal in February. A spokesman for the DCDP said 'This man should not have been shut away in the first place. We have to make people in Parliament realise that you cannot put people away just because they are disabled.' Over 100 MPs have backed the campaign for Glen's freedom.

HUNGER STRIKE

A woman jailed in C Wing, Holloway, 'Stephen' Wright, was rushed to hospital after a 5 day hunger and thirst strike, according to *The Observer* of 26 January. C Wing 'psychiatric' unit has a history of torturous and inhuman repression of women prisoners and there have been frequent demands for its closure.

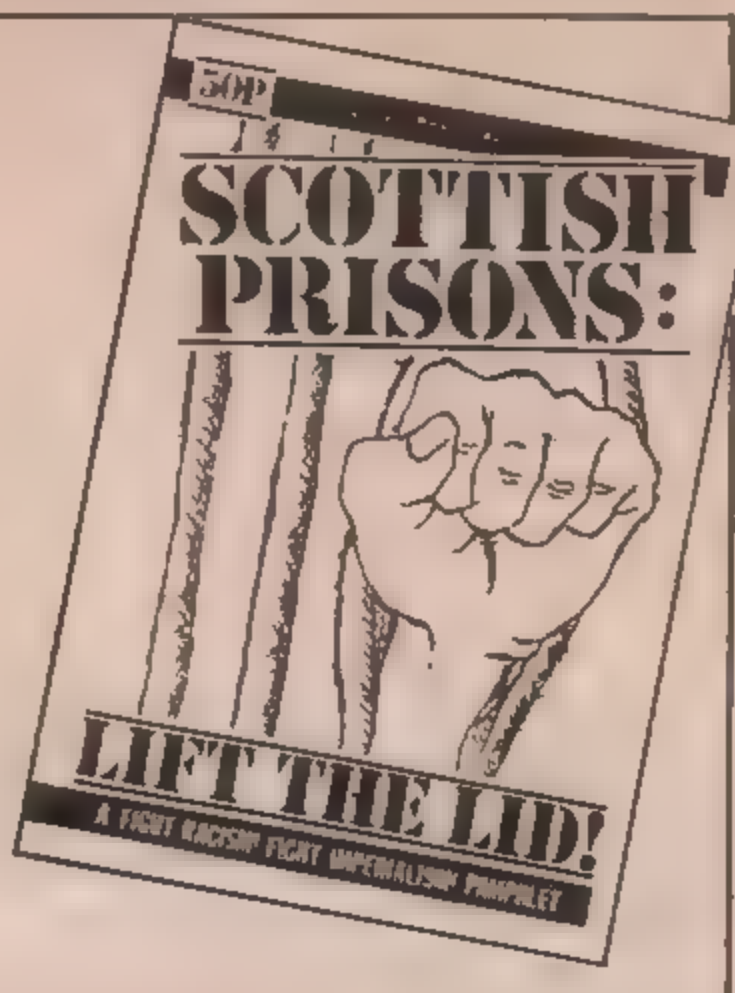
SCOTTISH PRISONS—LIFT THE LID

This new *FRFI* pamphlet exposes the brutality of the Scottish prison system and shows clearly why we must support prisoners in their fight for basic rights.

Cost—50p (40pp) + 25p p&p
Order from: Edinburgh *FRFI*, Box 40,
43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh
Glasgow *FRFI* Public Meeting

Scottish Prisons—Lift the Lid

Wednesday 5 March 7.30pm McLellan Galleries,
Sauchiehall Street



An Appeal to Readers and Supporters

From the Editorial Board of Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!

A series of *FRFI* pamphlets for 1986/87

Last year, with your help, we established an independent production unit for our publications. This enabled us to publish our book on the miners strike and our pamphlet on South Africa.

In 1986/87 we want to reproduce as pamphlets some of the most important articles in *FRFI* going back to 1980. Back issues are fast vanishing. Yet we must preserve the best political material for the political training of those today entering political struggle

We have plans for pamphlets on, amongst others:

- Marx and Engels on the origin of British opportunism
- The development and role of the British police under Kenneth Newman

To produce these, and as cheaply as our other publications, we are asking for your help

We want to raise £3,000 in the next 3 months
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PRISONERS FIGHTBACK



The cost of feeding a prisoner for 1 week went up to the grand total of £5.96

PRISON PLANS

The Government's expenditure plans 1986/7 to 1988/9 were published this month. Under the section on the Home Office and the Lord Chancellor's Department, figures are given for expenditure on prisons. The estimated outturn for 1985/86 was £639 million and £700 million is the planned figure for 86/87. An extra £100 million has been allocated to keep the prison building programme going — the state plans to build an extra 16 new prisons by the 1990s at the rate of 2 per year.

However the National Audit Office warned the Home Office last month that already the number of new prisons planned will not be enough to relieve the rapidly rising prison population. In 1984/85 this was 43,600; last year it rose to 48,000 — an increase of 4,400. Since 1979 only 4,700 new prison places have been made available showing the seriousness of the gross overcrowding.

There is a paragraph in this section which begins, 'The government is committed to ensuring that the resources made available to the Prison Department are used as efficiently and effectively as possible...' It's clearly not succeeding in any sense and thousands more working class men and women are being locked up in appalling conditions. A *minimum* amount of money is spent on *improving* conditions — the cost of feeding a prisoner for one week went up to the grand total of £5.96 a rise of 29p! The total cost to feed all prisoners is £12.5 million a year — the remaining hundreds of millions goes on staffing and building up the state's machinery of repression.

PRISON UPRISING IN USA

Prisoners in Moundville Prison, West Virginia, USA, took control of the prison for 2 days after an uprising that began on New Years Day. Armed with home-made knives and spears they took six prison guards hostage to demand better conditions. Needless to say, the media has concentrated on the deaths of 3 prisoners during the rising who were known grasses. The prisoners are all now on 24 hour lock-up.

ROOF PROTEST AT LOW MOSS

Five prisoners at Low Moss Prison near Glasgow managed to get onto the roof on Xmas night after a 6 hour protest involving 19 prisoners who smashed up one of the dormitories. According to the media, the protest ended without injuries and the prisoners were transferred to Barlinnie. The Scottish Office has refused to give details of the protest or say what disciplinary proceedings have been taken against the men, but under the prison rules they could face loss of remission without legal representation.

THANKS

Finally, many thanks to all the prisoners who sent us Xmas cards and New Years greetings. Also the the unknown prisoner/s in one of the Isle of Wight gaols who sent us £15 for the Prisoners Fund. Many thanks for this valuable and much needed donation — please let us know who you are!

Alexa Byrne

POWs: NEWS AND GREETINGS

There have been many moves recently for the Irish POWs: Eddie Butler has been moved from Leicester to Parkhurst; Joe O'Connell from Parkhurst to Leicester; Tommy Quigley from the Scrubs to Albany; Roy Walsh is now in Parkhurst; John McComb has moved from Parkhurst to Long Lartin; and Paul Hill has been ghosted to Lincoln from Gartree. Our greetings to all these comrades.

Congratulations to Pat Guilfoyle who has won his appeal against his exclusion from Britain. He was deported to Ireland immediately on his release from Long Lartin in October 1985.

FRFI sends our greetings to the two POWs whose birthdays come soon. We ask our readers to send cards, preferably recorded delivery to ensure their arrival: Anthony Clarke, 726381, HM Prison, Love Lane, Wakefield, Yorkshire, WF2 9AG: 11 February.

John McComb, B51715, HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcestershire, WR11 5TZ: 25 February
Tony Sheridan

HANDS OFF IRELAND!

IN BRIEF



Loyalists vent anger on RUC

Election stalemate

continued from page 1

not surprising that the six weeks since the Agreement was signed have seen:

- * The establishment by the Gardai of a Special Border Task Force with the aim of strengthening search and intelligence gathering procedures in border areas. Regular meetings have begun between top level RUC and Gardai to discuss border operations.

- * 550 extra British troops (the first increase since the 1981 hunger strikes) have been sent to the Six Counties to be deployed in Border areas, particularly to protect RUC stations in the face of increasingly successful IRA attacks against them.

- * Inter-governmental discussions on the need for strengthening extradition procedures so that more Republicans can be handed over for Diplock Court trials.

- * The arrest and detention of 18 prominent Sinn Féin members, including Vice President Martin McGuinness, on 28 December. Whilst in detention they suffered ill-treatment, isolation and prolonged interrogation. Women prisoners were beaten and sexually threatened. Only one of the 18 was charged and that with possession of 'explosives', in fact a UDR flare. The arrests were, as Sinn Féin said, the opening of a campaign of harassment and legalised repression against them aimed to obstruct their election campaign.

And what of the Agreement's promised reforms? The SDLP election campaign was centrally focussed on the promise of improvements to come in the position of the nationalist community. By doing so, as their election results show, they swung over a section of the nationalist vote. The SDLP however is well aware that the imperialist's efforts to bolster constitutional nationalism must be accompanied not just by the stick of anti-Republican repression but also by the delivery of some fairly sizeable carrots. But the reality is that British imperialism cannot and will not allow any serious reforms. For, above all it recognises that British rule in Ireland is guaranteed by the existence of the sectarian Six County statelet based on the permanent oppression of the nationalist minority. The SDLP is therefore skating on the thinnest of ice. This is well understood by the working class nationalists living in high unemployment, poverty stricken areas, suffering constant repression. They know that the only hope of improvement lies in driving British imperialism out of Ireland. It is amongst them that support for the Republican Movement has its firmest base. But there is also a floating vote of better off Catholics which oscillates between Sinn Féin and the SDLP. For the present, this section thinks there is a possibility that rewards will come from the collaborationist position of the SDLP. Hence the reforms so far discussed have been aimed at winning over this middle class

nationalist opinion. They include:

- * The announcement that the next High Court judge will be a Catholic — a fact that will hardly matter to the nationalists he sentences to life imprisonment.

- * Talk of a limited return to jury trial, but *not* for politically related charges, these will continue to go before juryless Diplock courts.

- * Hints that Dublin is anxious to persuade the British government to drop the embarrassingly openly unjust showtrials based on informers' evidence.

Such measures are simply designed to make judicial practices appear more 'normal' whilst preserving intact a vast repressive apparatus and a social and economic system based on inequality and oppression. It is those who bear the brunt of the resulting suffering who have most to gain from a liberated Ireland. They recognise that the real fight for the rights of the nationalist people is being waged by the Republican Movement. Six RUC stations have been destroyed by the IRA since the Agreement was signed.

An IRA spokesman said:

'We, like the black people in South Africa, are in a position not of our making or choice. We must fight for our rights.'

Pauline Sellars and
Maxine Williams

Gaoled nationalists call off hunger strike

The staggered hunger strike begun by the twenty seven nationalists convicted on the word of 'supergrass' Harry Kirkpatrick, was called off on 6 January 1986. Although the British government has denied the widespread reports of concessions, it seems more than coincidence that the prisoners' appeal is expected to be heard in June, an unprecedented six months from conviction. An early appeal date was one of the hunger strikers' demands.

Both the British government and the Twenty Six Counties government wanted to avoid a hunger strike during the early, sensitive stages of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. On 5 January the Irish Foreign Minister, Peter Barry, openly criticised the Kirkpatrick verdicts and the supergrass system, and it is reported that privately considerable pressure was put on the British government. The reason for this lies not in any belief in justice on the part of the Dublin government but rather their recognition that a hunger strike would have led to widespread nationalist mobilisation, discredited the constitutional nationalists and eventually put paid to the Anglo-Irish deal.

Strip search protest grows

The strip-searching of Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, two Irish women held on remand as Category A prisoners in Brixton Jail, goes on unabated. In a recent letter to *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* Ella told us that in the month of December 1985 she was strip-searched 22 times, had 20 body-searches, 3 cell searches and 2 cell changes. Martina was strip-searched 23 times, had 16 body-searches, 5 cell searches and 2 cell changes. It must be noted that the figures for strip-searching do not include Sundays, as the women are never strip-searched on a Sunday.

All this intimidation and harassment in the guise of security takes place when the women should be having their free association time. They are already locked up for up to 22 hours a day, now when they are unlocked all the time is eaten up by strip-searches etc.

Joy Kinsley, notorious for her inhuman treatment of the women in Holloway prison, is now governor of Brixton jail. She has told Martina and Ella that their only entitlements are to be fed, wear clothes and have one hour out of their cells. When Ella and Martina asked Kinsley to record their complaints she told them she would record only what she saw fit to record. The trial of the two women is unlikely to be heard before May 1986 so they face at least another 5 months of this disgusting and debilitating treatment.

South London Irish Solidarity Committee held a protest meeting about strip searches on Monday 20 January at Lambeth town hall. Sharon Atkin, Lambeth Councillor (whose ward includes Brixton prison) and National Chair Labour Party Black Sections, and Lucy Frances for SLISC spoke at the meeting attended by over 30 people. Sharon Atkin made the point that what is happening in Ireland today will be happening in Britain tomorrow unless a united campaign takes place against these repressive measures and for a united Ireland.

Solidarity messages were given by *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* City of London AA group and Isabelle

Anderson, Martina's sister, sent her thanks to SLISC for all their work. The Irish Prisoners Appeal committee also made a contribution from the floor.

A recent letter from the Home Secretary to Tony Benn MP (who had taken up SLISC's complaint on the issue), ludicrously claims that Ella and Martina have been strip searched with 'as much consideration and courtesy as possible' and 'not an unreasonable' number of times. Yet even on his considerably underestimated figures, Hurd admits that Martina was strip searched eleven times between 5-10 August, that is *twice a day*. The campaign against this brutal practice must be stepped up.

Sian Bond

EVENTS

Saturday 1 February 12-2pm
SLISC Street Meeting
'Brixton-Armagh — Stop the Strip Searches'
Outside Prince of Wales Pub, Brixton

Public Meeting and Video
'Strip Searches — using our bodies against us'
13 February 7.30pm
Red Rose Club, Seven Sisters Road, London N7
Called by NLISC
Bloody Sunday Commemoration March
Sunday 2 February
Assemble 1pm Speakers Corner
Called by Co-ordinating Committee for British Withdrawal from Ireland.



Portlaoise protest

Irish POWs in Portlaoise prison have announced that they will be refusing all closed visits from 4 February. In March 1985, after a year-long protest by the POWs over closed (heavily supervised, screened) visits and strip-searches of prisoners, the Portlaoise governor agreed to nine open visits a year and a lessening of the strip-searches. This agreement has been reneged on — visits have been curtailed by about 50 per cent; relatives turned away from the prison; strip-searches have massively increased to 400 during December; degrading assaults are carried out on the prisoners.

The POWs, through the Portlaoise Prisoners Relatives Action Committee, said, 'Since the present situation is intolerable and we refuse to let our relatives fall victims to the prison regime, we have decided not to subject them any longer to the degrading and inhuman conditions imposed on those who take closed visits'. FRFI sends support and solidarity to all the Irish POWs in Portlaoise prison.

Unemployment jumps

January 1986 saw a massive rise in unemployment in the Twenty-Six Counties — the 17.2 per cent national rate at the end of 1985 jumped to 18 per cent in January. Unemployment rose by 11,818 and the total now stands at 239,867. The official figures hide the true unemployment statistics — estimated at a staggering 311,700, nearly a quarter of the workforce.

Dunnes Store robbed

Dunnes Stores supermarket in Kilnamanagh, Co. Dublin were relieved of over £100,000 takings on 9 January in what the BBC reported as an IRA operation. Dunnes Stores became internationally known during the one and a half year strike by workers in Henry Street, Dublin who refused to handle the South African goods stocked by Dunnes. In this case it appears that Dunne's profits from trading with apartheid may be put to more useful purposes than hitherto!

Pauline Sellars

US aid

Dublin's economic saviour in the Hillsborough Agreement, the much talked about US aid (an estimated \$400 million) to encourage 'normality' and prosperity, now looks less certain to materialise. Heavy US pressure is being applied on Dublin to back the US in sanctions against Libya. If Dublin says no to Reagan, then its Hillsborough Agreement is in yet more trouble. Despite all the sanctimonious talk by Dublin and its ally the SDLP about reconciliation, peaceful change, and constitutional politics, they cannot deliver all they promised. Their politics like Dublin's economy is bankrupt.

Cathal

No extradition

Two of the 38 Republicans who escaped from the H-Blocks in 1983 were arrested in Amsterdam after two and a half years of freedom. A special squad of Dutch police equipped with stun grenades captured them and a third man, William Kelly, in the early hours of 16 January. Brendan McFarlane and Gerard Kelly were both serving life sentences in the H-Blocks; Gerard Kelly had been repatriated to the Six Counties in 1975 after the hunger-strike with Dolours and Marion Price and Hugh Feeney for the right of repatriation. Britain will apply officially for the extradition of both but they have said they will fight it. FRFI opposes their extradition and sends them support in their fight against it.

Maxine Williams

REVIEWS

Women in struggle

Shifting Horizons, Lyn Beaton. Canary Press, 1985, £5.95, 265pp



'Shifting Horizons' is the story of the miners' strike in the words of two women from the Nottinghamshire village of Blidworth. More than just an account, it tells of the development of the women and their friends as political leaders and organisers.

Most striking in Doreen and Pauline's account is not the hardship of the strike – harsh though that was – but the overwhelming feeling of excitement and fulfilment which it brought to the women who were the backbone of the struggle. From a humdrum and narrow life as wives, mothers and part-time workers in boring jobs, the women of the striking communities threw themselves into political life. The skills and talents formerly dormant or only used in the narrow confines of their family lives were used and stretched to the limit.

Part of the relatively more affluent Notts mining community, both women at first thought that Scargill's call for industrial action was wrong. They believed the media that he was 'just out for a strike'. They had mortgages, HP, family problems – the strike was unwelcome. But the women and their husbands couldn't countenance the breaking of picket lines set up by Yorkshire strikers. The women and their husbands quickly came round to offer the Yorks strikers food and warmth in their homes. This act, for Doreen and Pauline, was the beginning of a great change in their lives. Their homes were raided by police hounding the Yorkshiremen out of the village; they and their children were threatened and abused for being the families of striking miners. The Yorkshire pickets were driven out of the village, now divided into two opposing camps of scabs and strikers. The scabs cheered on the police in their brutalising of the strikers and the women, set on them in pubs, called the police on them. The strikers drew ever closer together. Enraged at the denial of every right they thought they had, Doreen and Pauline were drawn to the picket line – and found other women there too.

As money became tight, it was clear that a strike kitchen was needed. Strike kitchens weren't new to mining communities. But the strike kitchens set up by the women of the 84-85 strike were new. They were run by the women and became the political, social and economic centres of the strike. In Notts, with the strikers in the minority, the centre was all the more important. Premises had to be

At last! A contemporary account by black British women, about black British women, for black British women! *Heart of the Race*, is an account by three women who have all been actively involved in black women's politics in Britain for several years – Scafe and Bryan are both members of Brixton Black Women's Group. Their political perspectives are reflected in this book, which does lend it an air of bias. But that said, it is recommended reading especially, I would suggest for young black women,

Heart of the Race, Stella Dadzie, Beverley Bryan, Suzanne Scafe. Virago Press, 1985, £4.50, 250pp

en, whom the struggles of our mothers, grand-mothers and even great-grandmothers will doubtless inspire.

The logical place for a book depicting the struggles of Afro-Caribbean women to begin with is the slave trade. This book goes one further, and traces the history of black women in Britain from the Amharic

dynasties of ancient Africa to the present day. This book says what the British press, tool of the British government, denies: our contributions have gone unnoticed. Many black women who came here after the Second World War were lured with false promises of job security and security for their families, only to find once here that Britain is indeed the mother

of racism. Black women were shunted into the jobs the white working class did not want, the white working class at the same time resenting black people for being here and supposedly 'stealing' their jobs. Once Britain had imported its quota of labour, sufficient to fill its needs, it proceeded to introduce racist immigration controls to split families, causing untold misery to thousands. Now black people are mobilising to fight back against harassment by the state which invades every sector of our lives. Here we read about black women's involvement in anti-deportation campaigns, the scrap sus campaign, campaigns against 'sin-bins' in schools,

fought for against scab opposition. The women had to fight, occupying the Youth Club hall after repeated put-offs by the management committee of Labour Councillors and others, until they won and a centre set up.



Liberation from domestic oppression came through collective struggle: because of the vital role which women quickly began to play, the men began to do the washing and cleaning and to care for their children. In the strike centre, at home, in pubs and meetings, discussion raged between the women and the men on every political issue which touched their lives: what class is, feminism, Greenham, racism, education, the media, communism – the Labour

Party. The women had to learn about running meetings, taking minutes, chairing, speaking, keeping accounts. Doreen and Pauline gave up their jobs to work full-time for the strike, travelling around the country speaking and fundraising. They joined the women at Greenham for a day, supported women's pickets in Yorkshire and spent the night at the South London Women's hospital occupation.

Doreen and Pauline and others joined the Labour Party during the strike. Their aim was to change it and ensure that it had to represent the class it claimed to represent. 'The Blidworth branch was shaking in its boots because they all knew that we'd joined to change things, but they couldn't stop us.' (Pauline).

Nearly a year after the strike's end, it is clear that although the Labour Party couldn't stop Doreen and Pauline and others like them from joining they could stop them changing it. Kinnock's Labour Party is ever more clearly a party for those who are turning their backs on the unemployed and oppressed, which

will accommodate the scab UDM, but let miners rot in jail and on the dole. Arthur Scargill, and those he represented, are isolated and attacked.

The NUM, faced with a choice between the new horizons opened up by the work of the women's support groups, or remaining in the folds of the reactionary Labour and trade union movement, chose the latter.

The women who had led the fight against pit closures were denied any voice in the NUM at its post-strike conference. That voice could have ensured that the gains made in the strike were lasting gains. As Doreen and Pauline say in conclusion: 'We learnt so much in this, our struggle, and we know now that it is the same struggle as many others, against racism, for minority groups, against nuclear weapons and against the racist regime in South Africa...' Such 'shifted horizons' are not welcome in the Kinnock-led Labour Party, which has set its horizons firmly on holding onto the votes of the privileged.

Maggie Mellon



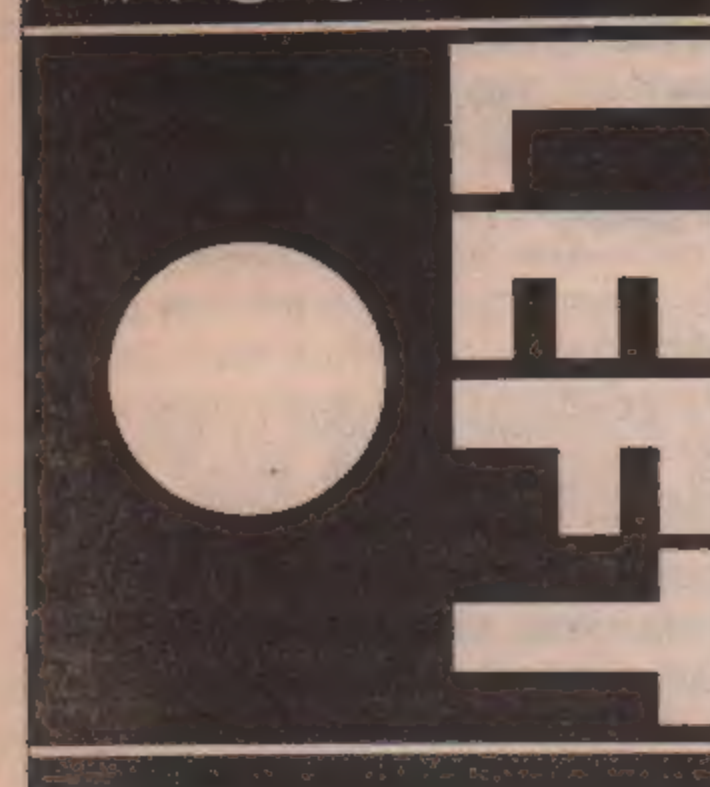
Grunwicks Strikers 1976-78

on the shop floor, in the home. Black women have always had to fight two battles – racism and sexism. To have it documented that we can and have in many cases, in unity, triumphed against all odds against these twin evils does not make the struggles which lie ahead of us any easier – it does, however, help inspire us to continue to fight.

At £4.50, this book may not reach all of those it is aimed at, and although the book does not (could it possibly?) depict all the struggles of Afro-Caribbean women in this country (black lesbians, for example, are not mentioned, nor is the issue of 'separatist' politics dealt with), I'd still recommend anyone who can get hold of it to do so; read, learn, mobilise!

Charine James

AROUND the



FRFI received a letter from a Militant supporter attacking our position on the socialist countries and national liberation struggles. Below we reprint the letter and our reply.

Letter from a supporter of Militant

Dear Comrades,
I am writing as a member of the Labour Party, an LPYS branch secretary, and a supporter of Militant, in order to ask the Revolutionary Communist Group a number of questions. I have read, with great interest, your Manifesto *The Revolutionary Road to Communism in Britain* in which there are frequent criticisms of the Labour Party and Militant.

Firstly, I would like to question your completely uncritical support for any country which calls itself 'Communist'. I suggest that it is quite obvious that every so-called Communist state is a Stalinist dictatorship. These are degenerated Workers' States as Trotsky put it, and are among the most reactionary in the world.

The Soviet Union has, since 1924, when Josef Stalin came to power, never given aid to any revolutionary situation in the world. Indeed, his metamorphosis of the Comintern into part of the Russian Foreign Office and his crazy ideal of 'Socialism in One Country' are proof of this. If Trotsky had come to power I suggest we would be living in a true workers state. He knew full well that socialism could never survive alone in Russia where there were constant shortages. If aid had been given to the Spartacist Revolt in Germany the Stalinist bureaucracy could never have existed.

Secondly, I question your support for all terrorist organisations, calling them true revolutionaries. In today's society terrorism can never win through. For example, the IRA promised to rid Ireland of British soldiers within 5 months, then 5 years, now an indefinite period. What have they achieved? All they have done is given ammunition to the reactionary bigots like Ian Paisley. Their immoral actions have seen the introduction of the PTA, and have put the working class struggle back decades. This is true of virtually all terrorist groups worldwide. Many of them are not even socialists. I fully support freedom from imperialism, but it must be done through working class unity, not sectarian murders. Terrorism cannot be used as a short cut to revolution. It scares the workers, and is an act of frustration. It can only lead to a more repressive state...

Yours fraternally
MK (Oxon)

Our reply

The main purpose of comrade MK's letter is to convince us that the Soviet Union, the IRA, the socialist

countries and national liberation movements in general, cannot be allies of the British working class in its struggle for socialism. Indeed he portrays them as enemies. This is not surprising as the comrade is a supporter of Militant, a trend of the British Trotskyist movement which has not only aligned itself with the Labour Party, but has been in it for nearly four decades.

The imperialist system today faces a fundamental economic crisis. To resolve it the ruling class is mounting a sustained attack on the working class in the imperialist nations, on the socialist countries and national liberation movements. In this offensive British imperialism is as ruthless and determined as any other. And the British Labour Party, in the past and present, is its ever willing servant. Yet comrade MK has nothing to say of these facts when launching a veritable tirade of falsehoods and slanders against the Soviet Union, the IRA and other liberation movements which are waging the armed struggle.

We do not ask anyone to abandon critical thought. But some modesty and Marxist principles are a precondition for proper discussion among socialists. Rosa Luxemburg, who was an outstanding communist leader of millions of workers had many criticisms of the Bolsheviks. Yet in 1918, shortly before she was murdered by the German counter-revolution headed by the Social Democratic Party (the equivalent of the Labour Party) she wrote of the Russian Revolution:

'... a model and faultless proletarian revolution in an isolated land, exhausted by world war, strangled by imperialism and betrayed by the international proletariat, would be a miracle.'

Despite her criticisms of the Bolsheviks she said:

'The blame for the Bolsheviks' failures is borne in the final analysis by the international proletariat and above all by the unprecedented and persistent baseness of German Social Democracy.'

Today, 68 years later, the fundamental points remain relevant. After the devastating destruction of the Nazi invasion, the Soviet Union remains militarily encircled, subject to economic and political sabotage and opposed by the opportunist labour movements in the imperialist nations. Despite the resulting enormous difficulties and problems this has created for the Soviet people, Fidel Castro in 1985, could say about the Soviet Union:

'... we have the economic privilege of the existence of the socialist camp. When we were without oil, they sent oil; when nobody wanted to sell us even a bullet, they sent us the arms and ammunition we needed. When we lost our traditional sugar markets, they purchased our sugar. When the United States subjected us to an economic blockade and desperately tried to prevent anybody from selling us food, medicine, raw materials or equipment, they supplied us with all they could. Thanks to all this, ... we have made great economic and social gains.'

With Soviet support, the Cuban people have succeeded in fending off imperialist attacks and transformed the living conditions of the Cuban people. The Vietnamese people's glorious victory against the armed

might of the USA would have been delayed by many, many years, if not decades, without Soviet economic, military and political assistance. Today, faced with the imperialist blockade, the Vietnamese people are also beneficiaries of Soviet and other socialist assistance. So too are the people of Kampuchea, Laos, Nicaragua, Angola and many others fighting against imperialist oppression and exploitation. Is not comrade MK's claim that the Soviet Union is among the world's 'most reactionary' states that it 'has never given aid to any revolutionary situation' beyond belief?

Whatever the 'criticisms' of 'Stalinist dictatorship', these facts compel one to recognise that in the struggle against imperialism, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are actually allies of the working class and oppressed. Militant refuses to accept this because it puts its alliance with the Labour Party above the objective needs of the working class; because the Labour Party has been just as vicious in its hostility to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries as the Tories. If Militant or comrade MK were to accept these facts they could not remain inside the Labour Party.

Militant's opposition to the IRA and other liberation movements such as the ANC in South Africa, is that much more shameful for the fact that British imperialism, with the active assistance of Labour governments, is responsible for the brutal and bloody repression of the Irish people in the Six Counties and black people in South Africa.

In any Marxist dictionary the term 'terrorism' applies to military actions carried out by small groups of people with no connection, asso-

ciation or relation with a mass revolutionary movement of the oppressed. Clearly neither the ANC nor the Republican Movement come into this category. Both of these liberation movements include the working class and the mass of oppressed people in their support. That Militant describes them as terrorist expresses only Militant's opposition to the right of the oppressed to use whatever force they see necessary in their fight for democracy. In this they are merely repeating the reactionary position of the Labour Party. Militant, readers should know, supports the presence of British troops in Ireland!

The ANC, the Republican Movement and other liberation movements are the natural allies of the British working class in its fight for socialism. The ANC is fighting the same British imperialism, the same banks and multinationals which are throwing millions of British workers into unemployment and poverty. The Republican Movement is fighting the very same British state which is slowly but surely using, against the British working class, the methods it has used for 16 years to repress the Irish people.

Talk about 'Stalinist dictatorship', 'terrorism', 'immoral acts' and 'sectarian murder' when referring to socialist countries and liberation movements is not only dishonourable among socialists, but downright reactionary. The British working class cannot carry out a socialist revolution without defending the socialist countries and allying itself with national liberation struggles. This is one of the main points made in our Manifesto. It is something that comrade MK and Militant have yet to learn.

Eddie Abrahams

Apology

Dear Editor

I would be grateful if you would print the following apology in a prominent position in the next issue of 'FRFI':

APOLOGY

In an article by Carol Brickley (issue no 51) and a letter from Leeds FRFI (issue no 54) Paul Blomfield, Secretary of Sheffield Anti-Apartheid Movement, was described as a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

We understand that Paul Blomfield is a member of the Labour Party and has never been a member of the CPGB. We apologise for this mistake.

Please send a copy of the issue containing the apology to me, at the above address.

Yours faithfully
Paul Blomfield
Sheffield Anti-Apartheid Movement

Greetings

Dear Comrades,

Your paper is a big support even for people on the continent. United we will win!

With anti-imperialist and communist greetings
Rüdiger
Freiburg
W Germany

Correction

Correction to *A People's Guide to the Police and Criminal Evidence Act* in FRFI 55 on photographs:

'With certain exceptions the police do not have the right to photograph you. For political activists the most important exception is if you are arrested along with others and the photo is necessary to establish who arrested you, or the time and place.'

We would like to point out that the Police and Criminal Evidence Act does not apply to Scotland.

Police lies in court

Dear FRFI,
On 15 January David Gard was acquitted by Highbury Magistrates Court on charges of threatening behaviour and assault on police. He had been arrested on the 2 November National Anti-Apartheid Movement demonstration when it was alleged that he threw a bottle at the police.

David lives in Plymouth but had previously been on a City Group picket when he visited London last year. He marched with the City AA contingent on the demo because, as he said in court, 'the City of London Group are well organised' and because he knew the singing and chanting would be lively. The police prosecution tried to turn this against him, saying City Group has 'a poor reputation where Public Order is concerned' and alleging that 'that is why they were expelled from the Anti-Apartheid Movement'. This was obviously the opinion of PC Ball from Cannon Row who is co-ordinating the 2 November cases in the same cheerful way he did those arising from the 24 February Miners' Demo and who whispered frantically into Counsel's ear as soon as City Group was mentioned. Both David and James Wood, acting for him, refuted this allegation just as those of us in the Public Gallery began to wonder exactly who was on trial.

Both police officers in the case lied unconvincingly. David produced two witnesses to the incident and two to his good character. The Magistrates ummed and aahed a bit to make

it look as though the case were worth considering and then acquitted him. £300 costs were awarded.

Nicki City AA

Tesco's racism

Dear FRFI

On 5 November at Tesco, Hope Road, Brixton, Claudette, Chester and Spartacus, black members of the Active Boycott Campaign, set up by the Cultural Awareness Programme, were participating in the boycott of South African goods, making the customers aware of Tesco's collaboration with apartheid.

These three members went in and filled up their shopping trolleys with South African goods. Tesco's manager noticed them and told his cashiers not to serve them when they reached the tills. Tesco's manager then called the police who arrived minutes later. The three demonstrators were arrested leaving the store, shouting militant slogans and giving a clenched fist solidarity salute, applauded by supporters and onlookers.

On 8 January I attended their hearing at Camberwell Magistrates Court where supporters were gathered on a picket that lasted four hours. Later on, they packed the public gallery. After hearing Tesco's manager and PC 223's evidence, Magistrate G Bathurst-Norman declared that 'a clenched fist is not a threat but a defiant salute'. He dismissed the case. A victory to one is a victory to all!

Colette Levy
City AA

Geordie Revolutionaries

Dear Comrades,

As a Geordie mineworker exiled to Yorkshire during the great closure programme of Labour and Tories in the 60s and early 70s I was interested in your letter on Ian Davison 'The Geordie Terrorist' in the PLO.

This 'strange' involvement by a Geordie in Middle Eastern politics seems to have overlooked an interesting point. Although the Geordies are by and large of Norse-Celt composition, a small population of Arabs have been present on the Geordie coast (Shields where Ian comes from) for many hundreds of years. It seems possible that Arab traders came and settled in Geordieland before the Norsemen took up residence. The Shields Arabs are a well known feature of the town and own many small businesses. When I was a young 'un Arab seamen selling items and magically strange goods in the market place was a welcome feature of the town. For these reasons the cause of the Palestinians is perhaps better understood on Tyneside than elsewhere further south.

Incidentally he is far from being the first (nor will he be the last) 'Geordie Terrorist'. The Tyneside-Irishman Sean O'Connell paid a visit up to Otterburn and shot dead a retired British Army officer in soli-

arity with the cause of Ireland, not so many years ago; although that comrade is himself now dead having been denied hospital treatment for his illness while in prison.

The very tenuous 'English nation' and even more shaky 'United Kingdom' have always been terrified of a disenchanted north, and the vast heavy industrially based proletariat was always regarded by the capitalist class as a dangerous necessity. Under the current decaying age of capitalism they have taken some vindictive pleasure in their de-industrialisation of Tyneside. Day by day almost you can see the attempt to change the character of the 'Geordie', fewer and fewer employed at all but the most devastating of all in heavy industry, mining, shipbuilding etc. At the same time as the 'dirty north' becomes idle and the air cleaner there is an influx of the southern middle class, and quite wealthy people start to move north and buy up properties thus adding to the changes.

You will note that as the situation of the native worker gets worse so the number of royal visits increases, presumably to reinforce the warm feeling 'belonging to the nation' and to keep the Geordie identity with the union jack intact.

Revolutionary greetings

David Douglass

National Union of Mineworkers,
Yorkshire (personal capacity)

Denied our rights

Hello FRFI

How are you, I hope everything is fine. Thanks very much for the Haringey Council police sub-committee document, also a copy of *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* I liked pages 8 and 9 about the police and criminal evidence act. It was good of you to let people know their rights. Many of us will still be denied our rights. Also can you thank all members of FRFI, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, also all your members in London for their wonderful cards. It's good to know that there are still good people about who know the struggles of people all over the world and are willing to help, where the government does nothing at all.

Since I've been in here I was thinking of writing to the Home Office, but decided against that, because if these people were really interested they wouldn't have allowed the Farm to be under this heavy siege. The way I see it the Home Office and head of London police force have brought their tactics with them, like plastic bullets and other oppressive methods which these people have used to oppress the people of Ireland. Just look what they're doing with the courts system, with fraud cases, this is just the first step, it won't stop there; it will be for any kind of criminal cases. They'll just scrap jury trials altogether just like diplock courts in northern Ireland. So the poor will be poorer, the rich will be richer and the government will be happy because everything is under their control.

Once again, thanks for the news also your support, thanks and good luck for the New Year to all of you, Bye for now.
Winston Silcott
HMP Brixton

Unity is strength

Dear FRFI,

May I offer on behalf of us all here in Brixton (the Irish Republicans), Revolutionary New Year's greetings, and congratulate you on your solid efforts to achieve the ends your publication's name implies. The papers once read are then given to others and the message read by a greater readership. It has caused eyes to be opened, consciences questioned and hopefully stimulates, if not communal debate, at least a personal process of questioning. I have found only a positive response. I introduced it to my prison comrade and friend Winston, who has himself contributed to your letters page—and who, by the way, sends his New Year's greetings also.

Thank you for David Reed's book—I, while in the H Blocks got FRFI sent and I kept the articles. David then wrote on the Freedom Struggle as waged by the Irish people—and with special reference to the H Blocks. I believe this book is to a large degree drawn from those articles. I have not yet read it as I had lent it to a

Despite the censor...

Comrades

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for sending me your paper *FRFI* this past number of months, and also for sending me your book *Ireland: the key to the British revolution*. I especially want to thank you and your movement for showing such solidarity with the Irish working classes in their struggle against imperialism.

The censor in this jail must really have a spite against your paper and its contents as half the time he won't allow it into the jail. However, when we do receive it, we POWs find it a very valuable source of information. There are many similarities between the many struggles taking place throughout the world and our struggle in Ireland. We also watch with interest the ever rising awareness of the British working classes. The same tactics that the murderous RUC employed against us in the early stages of our struggle are now being employed against the working classes on the streets of London and other British cities.

I will finish this off now, as this is just a short note, to thank you for sending the papers and for everything else that you have done for us. Revolutionary greetings to you and your comrades for '86.

Yours faithfully
Eugene Cosgrove
H Blocks

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NORTH LONDON FRFI

STREET MEETING

Saturday 1 February

'Britain Out of Apartheid—

Apartheid Out of Britain'

11-3pm Wood Green Library, N22
(nearest tube: Wood Green)

North London

Irish Solidarity Committee

STREET MEETING

Saturday 8 February

'Stop Strip Searches Now!'

11-3pm Wood Green Library, N22
(nearest tube: Wood Green)

North London Irish

Solidarity Committee

PUBLIC MEETING

Thursday 13 February

'Using our bodies against us'

Stop strip searches!

Video and speaker

Red Rose Club, Seven Sisters Rd,

Finsbury Park, 7.30pm

(nearest tube: Finsbury Park)

Admission: 50p

FRFI FUND DRIVE 1985: £5680.36

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Many thanks to all our FRFI Supporter Groups and individuals who contributed to last month's total of £681.40. A magnificent effort in particular on the part of South London with £337.60, North London £140.80 and Manchester £123.39. Other contributions included Liverpool with £31, Dundee £23.50, and Glasgow £16.30. Come and help our FRFI Supporter Groups with bazaars, raffles, collection, benefits.

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JOIN
THE
RCG!

Take the side of all those struggling against imperialism—Join the RCG!

A movement must be built in Britain in solidarity with the struggling peoples of Ireland, South Africa, Palestine, Central America. Help us do this—Join the RCG!

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A movement must be built which challenges and defeats the treachery of the opportunist leaders of Britain's Labour and trade union movement—Join the RCG!!

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Nowhere in the thousands of column inches of newsprint devoted to the rivalry over Westland helicopters is there any sense of the real dimensions of the division that is opening up in the British ruling class. The press have preferred to revel and find sensation in the deceit and squalor that has become standard practice for Thatcher's ministers. Leaks, lies, planted stories and baseless accusations have long been the fanfare announcing every major policy move by Thatcher's government against the working class. What is news is why the ruling class should now turn their dirty habits against each other.

WESTLAND ruling class divides

Gangsters of High Finance v Captains of Industry

Westlands itself was a fairly insignificant firm, yet it has become the site of a major struggle between powerful sections of the British ruling class. Confronted with the worsening social crisis and refusal of the British economy to respond to their economic nostrums, the ruling class is forced to debate the future for British capital. Thatcher and Brittan stand for the financial interests of the City in an alliance with the US military-industrial complex; in this case represented by United Technologies, the owners of the Sikorsky firm. Heseltine, cynical and cunning, stands for the interests of British industry seeking an alliance with European manufacture; in this case represented by British Aerospace and GEC combined in the European Consortium bid. Which side will prevail? In the service of which set of thieves will the British state be wielded?

The profits of the banks, insurance companies and brokerage firms that control the financial sector of the British economy have never been greater than under Thatcher's rule. Over the past decade assets held by these institutions have grown by about 20 per cent a year. Meanwhile, for all Thatcher's whistling about streamlining and efficiency, manufacturing output is still below its 1979 level. The October 1985 House of Lords Report on Overseas Trade and the Church of England's 'Faith in the City' report gave warning to Thatcher that sections of the establishment were demanding her attention. Their warnings were contemptuously dismissed by Thatcher's ministers and their policies derided. It is reported that at a private meeting discussing the long term effects of the collapse of British manufacture Brittan brought the debate to an abrupt halt declaring 'I'm not going to talk about that—it's a sterile debate.' This from Thatcher's Minister for Trade and Industry!

Heseltine, impatient with the Tory rites of succession to Thatcher, has donned a patriotic cloak and now masquerades as the champion of British manufacture, envisaging British capitalism as a wealth creating industry reestablished on a European basis. Thatcher and her fawning retinue have no such illusions. They are wedded to the City where wealth flows from the ability to move finance around the world. The alliance with the US military-industrial complex is an insurance policy taken out to ensure that debts will be repaid and that finance will continue to move freely to its most profitable feeding grounds. The attempt to integrate British weapons manufacture in an independent European network conflicts directly with the strategic interests of the US military-industrial combines.

The Bankers and the Generals

'Take any one of the world-famous cannon... manufacturers... Here, the intertwining of finance capital is most pronounced, and is on the increase; German capitalists have "holdings" in British firms; British firms build submarines for Austria, and so on. Interlinked on a world-wide scale, capital is thriving on armaments and wars'.

V I Lenin The Collapse of the Second International

Westland's representative in the City is Lazards. Sikorsky-Fiat's City adviser is Morgan Grenfell. The two are merchant banks with a long history of collaboration, in the past their directors even shared a box at the opera in Covent Garden. Both banks have their origins in and are interwoven through share ownership with companies in the USA. Merchant banks are scouts for capital, they serve as

THE TEAMS



SIKORSKY/FIAT

Thatcher & Brittan
United Technologies owns Sikorsky
Morgan Grenfell—Sikorsky's
merchant bank
Board of Directors at Westland
Sir John Cuckney
Lazards Freres—Westland's
merchant bank
National Westminster and Barclays
Westland bankers
Hanson Trust
Westland workforce



THE EUROPEAN CONSORTIUM

Heseltine
GEC/British Aerospace/Aerospatiale
of France/Agusta of Italy/
Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm of
West Germany
The Defence Ministers of Holland,
West Germany, France
The Prime Minister of Italy
The EEC Commissioner for Industry
Lord Gregson
Lloyds Merchant Bank—bankers for
the European Consortium
GEC Chair James Prior
Sir Raymond Lygo—British
Aerospace Chief Executive
Sir Austin Pearce—British
Aerospace Chair
Alan Bristow
Ken Gill—General Secretary of
TASS
Roy Grantham—General Secretary
APEX

intermediaries between the great banks and industrial combines, drawing together firms and finance in order to buy up other concerns. Lazards, for example, arranged McDonnell Corporation's takeover of Douglas Aircraft, and Fiat's merger with Citroen. Thatcher has a special affection for Lazards: MacGregor, butcher of the steel mills and coalfields, is part owner of the US branch (See 'Imperialism Versus the Miners: A Little Local Difficulty' FRFI 45). Heseltine's predecessor as Defence Secretary, Sir John Nott left to become a director of Lazards and was duly given the task of selling off naval ship yards to his City friends. Collaborating with him on this project was Sir John Cuckney, formerly a director of Lazards and John Brown Shipyards, now chairman of Westland and vociferous supporter of the Sikorsky-Fiat bid. Cuckney was appointed to his Westland post on the advice of the Bank of England, Lazards and Westland's bankers, Barclays and National

Westminster. Cuckney manages to combine his Westland's post with directorships of the Midland Bank, the Royal Insurance Company, Thomas Cook, and he took Brooke Bond into Unilever in 1984.

While Lazards' placemen reach high into Thatcher's court they are also well situated to tap into the interests of the US banking and transnational corporations. Lazards occupy the top suite of New York's Rockefeller Centre where the Chase Manhattan Bank and Standard Oil concerns are headquartered. Chase Manhattan is the financial core around which pivot such giants of the US military-industrial complex as IBM and Westinghouse. It is also a major shareholder in United Technologies the biggest aerospace corporation in the world with a turnover of \$16.5 bn, the parent company of Sikorsky. The other major shareholder in United Technologies is the Morgan Group, from which Morgan Grenfell stems. This banking cartel connects Fords, ITT, General Motors etc.

The US ruling class is wielding the huge resources of its military-industrial combines to penetrate strategic sectors of European arms production to enable them to exert pressure to obtain compliant European NATO and foreign policies. The former US Secretary of State and Supreme Commander of NATO Forces in Europe, General Alexander Haig, is today Chairman of United Technologies International Advisory Committee and a member of the US Presidential Committee on Strategic Forces. Currently, US military-industrial transnationals have achieved over 60 licence agreements with British firms, 70 with Italian firms, and over 30 with German firms. The banks arrange their entry with Thatcher's blessing—in return for US imperialist protection of British financial interests world-wide.

HESELTINE'S MOVE

'We find that admirals and prominent statesmen of both parties, Conservative and Liberal, are shareholders and directors of shipyards, and of gunpowder, dynamite, ordnance and other factories.'

V I Lenin Armaments and Capital 1913

Heseltine's 9 January resignation was a calculated move. He had marshalled a considerable force of British and European capitalists behind him in favour of his European Consortium of GEC, British Aerospace, Agusta of Italy, Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm of West Germany and Aerospatiale of France. Leon Brittan already demoted from Home Secretary down to Trade and Industry Secretary appeared to be an initially soft target.

Heseltine, owner of the £50 million Haymarket publishing firm, former property speculator, presented himself as the landowning patrician, the paternalistic Tory standing up to Thatcher's shoddy and unscrupulous rule. The lucrative European Common Agricultural Policy has sown a fondness for things European among the Tory shires. The scandals of Johnson Matthey, Lloyds and the tin market were seen as 'something not British' in the City. Heseltine stirred up a mood of anticipation among Conservative ranks grown disillusioned with Thatcher's

'autocratic style'. His patriotic appeal and championing of British industry resonated with those who fear the 'middle-ground' the middle-classes and affluent workers, is slipping away from the Tories to the SDP/Liberal Alliance.

However, it was the credentials of the establishment figures who sided with Heseltine that indicated a more serious and enduring division in the ranks of the ruling class than just differences over electoral strategy and the succession. British Aerospace's chief executive Sir Raymond Lygo, like his Vice Chairman Sir John Treacher a former admiral, is a former vice-chief of naval staff. The chair of British Aerospace, Sir Austin Pearce, is also the Chair of the CBI Industrial Policy Committee. Former Cabinet Minister and Northern Ireland Secretary James Prior is current chairman of GEC, succeeding fellow cabinet minister, now Secretary General of NATO Lord Carrington. The head of the British Defence Manufacturer's Association weighed in on Heseltine's side, as did the Defence Ministers of France, West Germany and Holland, the Italian Prime Minister and the EEC Commissioner for Industry. Heseltine claimed that £1 billion worth of work was at risk if Westland took up Sikorsky's offer of the Black Hawk project. He pointed to European collaboration on the Tornado, Airbus, and European Fighter Aircraft projects. When he referred to Westland becoming a 'tin-basher' for US technology his words struck home among British industrialists who have seen 20 per cent of British

Euro-Communist and Morning Star wings) instinctively sided with Heseltine. Thatcher has neglected the labour aristocracy, she does not consult them or elevate them onto a string of advisory committees, like the National Economic Development Council, as previous Conservative and Labour Prime Ministers did. With the decline of British manufacture the trade union leadership has felt its power waning. They have a keen interest in allying themselves with British industrial capitalists to promote government intervention on behalf of British capital. With typical 'Buy British' chauvinism Roy Grantham of APEX 'welcomes Mr Heseltine belatedly speaking up for Britain's interests against those who care nothing for our future'. A union leadership which has with the notable exception of Arthur Scargill, refused to defend British workers' jobs now pretends that an alliance of British and European capitalists will do the job for them! TGWU chief Ron Todd called on Westland to consult the workforce. But they could see no reason why they should promote these union barons' careers and voted overwhelmingly for the Sikorsky deal. In truth, they trusted the devil they knew: Westland has long collaborated with Sikorsky.

As a celebration of parasitism and decay the Westland's affair is a feast. A company teetering on the edge of bankruptcy finds its shares sought after like gold dust. Tens of thousands of pounds have been made without the encumbrance of making a single helicopter

'We find that admirals and prominent statesmen of both parties... are shareholders and directors of shipyards, and of gunpowder, dynamite, ordnance and other factories.' V I Lenin.

manufacture pass into US ownership as it slides out of world markets. What Heseltine offers them is the illusion of a regenerated British industry in collaboration with European capital. What he offers sections of the military establishment is the hope of a degree of independence from the US military.

THE LEFT FLIES THE FLAG

'The British/European solution, with the involvement of GEC and British Aerospace guarantees the retention of a British design and development capacity... At some stage a British government will be forced to intervene to restructure the British aerospace industry so that it is accountable to the British people. Only this can guarantee future viability and jobs in what can be a highly profitable industry producing a wide range of advanced products for civil and military world markets.'

Ken Gill, Chairman of the TUC, General Secretary of TASS, former Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) member of Morning Star wing.

The Labour Party and CPGB (both the

On the one side Thatcher and Lazards send for reinforcements in the form of the Hanson Trust, a monster cartel with over 470 subsidiaries half of them in the USA and whose company logo features the British and US flags knotted together in a bow. On the other side are Heseltine and the industrialists whose rearguard action calls up former Indo-China War mercenary now helicopter operator Alan Bristow. As Marx once observed

'So long as everything goes well, competition effects a practical brotherhood of the capitalist class... so that each shares in the common loot in proportion to the magnitude of his share of investment. But as soon as it is no longer a question of sharing profits, but of sharing losses, everyone tries to reduce his own share to a minimum and load as much as possible upon the shoulders of some other competitor... competition then transforms itself into a fight a hostile brothers.'

Trevor Rayne